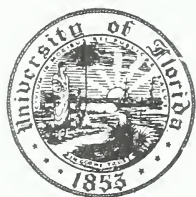



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THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN, Editor

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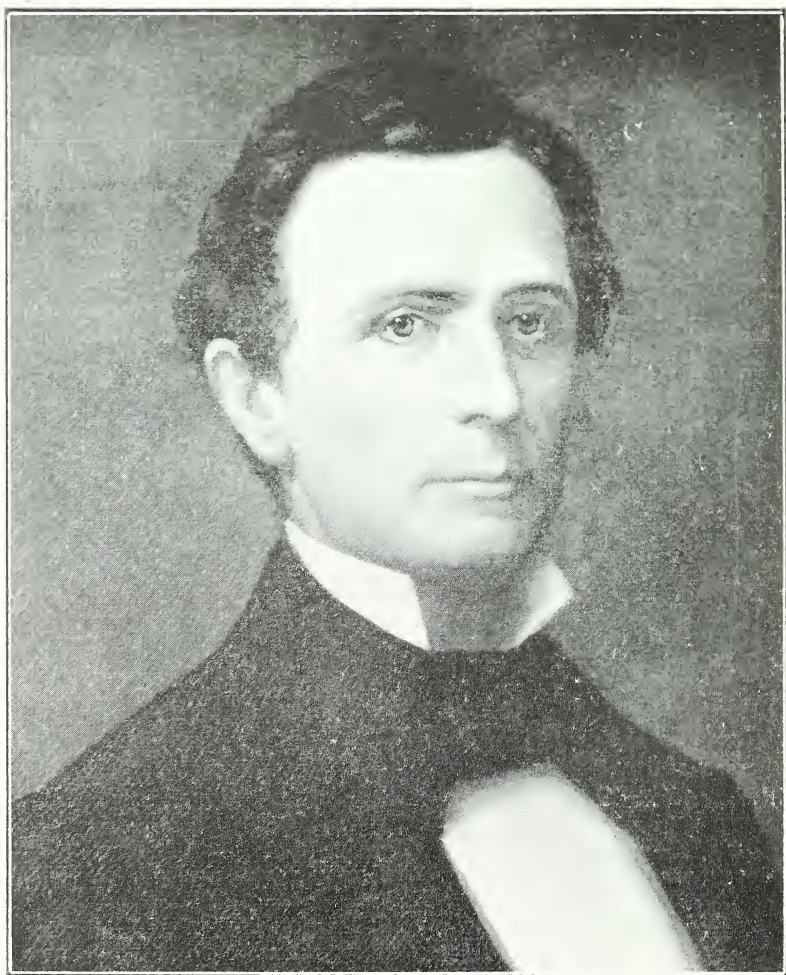
EDITORIAL

Owing to the great pressure of work devolving upon the Director of the Department of Archives and History incident to her regular duties, this issue of the Alabama Historical Quarterly is somewhat belated. It is to be noted that this is the first issue of Volume 5, the whole of Volume 4 being reserved for the publication of the translated French transcripts of Alabama's earliest French history. The original of this material reposes in the French archives in Paris but the original of the transcript is in the possession of the Library of Congress. That institution has very graciously loaned its manuscript to the Alabama State Department of Archives and History for translation into English. This translation is being done by the French and Spanish scholars and teachers composing part of the staff of the Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama. These documents were located by Mrs. Grace Scott three years ago during a visit to Paris and it was through her efforts that the Library of Congress has permitted the loan of the transcripts to the Department and under her supervision that the work of translation is being done.

The Editor has to report that the Associate Editor, Dr. Emmett Kilpatrick, has resigned his position in the Teachers College, Troy, Alabama, to enter the army. Dr. Kilpatrick had a distinguished career in World War I, and although he is over the age limit for active service he was so persistent in getting back into the armed forces that his wishes were finally gratified.

The Editor wishes to make acknowledgement of the friendly cooperation of the Honorable Frank M. Dixon, former Governor of the State, in the work of the Department and especially in connection with the appropriation for the publication of the Quarterly. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the new Governor, the Honorable Chauncey Sparks, is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Department and has a sincere appreciation of the importance of preserving the State's history.

MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN, Editor.



Jefferson Davis

President of the Confederate States of America,
1861-1865

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON DAVIS¹

Delivered February 18, 1861

(It was the intention of the Editor to include "Inaugural Address of Jefferson Davis" in the combined Fall and Winter Issue, 1941, but for lack of space it was carried over until this issue.)

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA; FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and to aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that Governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish Governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

¹Taken from a pamphlet on file in the Library Division of the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

The declared purpose of the compact of Union from which we have withdrawn, was "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity;" and when, in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box, declared, that so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776, has defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He, who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and re-affirmed in the Bills of Rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people, the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty—moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others—anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defense which honor and security may require.

An agricultural people—whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country—our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the North-eastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy, with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility, and to obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth, our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us, peaceably, to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But, if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

For purposes of defense, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia, but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers, in so far as it is explanatory of their well known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States, from which we have recently parted, may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not the judgment and will of the people, a reunion with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of a Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much of homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsions. Our industrial pursuits have received no check—the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore—and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer, can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust towards us as it would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations, of subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointment, are the price of official elevation. You

will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause, that is to me highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction; one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it; and, in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope, by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, and right, and liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice, and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles, which, by his blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.

EARLY ANTE-BELLUM MARION, ALABAMA: A BLACK BELT TOWN

By Weymouth T. Jordan

Dr. Jordan is assistant professor of American history at Alabama Polytechnic Institute. He holds the B. S. degree from North Carolina State College and the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees from Vanderbilt University. He has taught at Judson College, John B. Stetson University, Transylvania College, Blue Mountain College, and the University of Oklahoma. Various historical articles of his have appeared in *Agricultural History*, *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, *Journal of Mississippi History*, *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, and *Journal of Southern History*.

In many respects the settlement and early growth of the town of Marion, Perry County, serves as a typical example of the rise to importance of such establishments in the Alabama black belt.¹ Relatively speaking, it was founded quite late in the region's history. Candidly speaking, it has not maintained the significant position that it attained in the period before 1861. It deserves attention, nevertheless, because of its location and because it seems representative of many similar localities in the general area of the state in which it is situated. Like most other comparable towns in central Alabama, Marion owed its settlement to the many economic and social readjustments made necessary in the country by the War of 1812. Of special significance, too, was the famous Treaty of Fort Jackson of 1815, which opened up to whites much of the territory that soon became part of Alabama. In 1813, the Tennessee River bend and lower Tombigbee, the important settled areas in eastern Mississippi Territory, had had a population of about thirteen thousand. Then, the War of 1812 and the Treaty of Fort Jackson brought settlers to Jackson, Lauderdale, Limestone and other counties. As a result, by 1816 the population figure for all of Alabama (eastern Mississippi) increased to more than twenty-five thousand. Large agricultural establishments were set up in Madison County; others appeared in the lower Tombigbee

¹Southern grants-in-aid in 1940-41 and 1941-42 from the Social Science Research Council for a study of ante-bellum plantation practices in the Alabama black belt have made possible this article. Much of the material included here will appear later in a book length study entitled HUGH DAVIS AND HIS PLANTATION.

region; and settlers began arriving in Alabama from all directions. By March 3, 1817, the white population passed the thirty-three thousand mark, and was finally, after several unsuccessful attempts, able to induce Congress to establish the Territory of Alabama. The important settled areas, too, had increased in number. Besides the older, established regions, people had moved into the upper Tombigbee and into the Mobile River Valley. By the summer of 1817, South Alabama (Mobile, Baldwin, Washington, and Clark Counties) claimed twenty of the thirty-five thousand people in the Territory. Two years later, when Alabama attained statehood, its total population had reached more than seventy thousand. In 1820, the total jumped to 127,000.²

Meanwhile, some land later to be included in Perry County was gradually being taken up. In 1816, when the first permanent settlers from South Carolina and Tennessee arrived there they found all the characteristics of a frontier region. Indeed, for more than a decade after 1816 the area had little to offer in the way of cultural attributes. Few roads traversed the region and population increased slowly. Little formal education or religion was evident for several years; and in 1816, despite the provisions of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, the land in the area was still partially held by Creek Indians. When settlers first arrived they found a large Creek establishment at a place known as Cahaba Old Town, located at the point where Old Town Creek flows into the Cahaba River, about seven miles northeast of the present location of the town of Marion. White man's encroachment was made in the area by the end of 1816, however, and in December a settler named Anderson West, who was perhaps the first permanent immigrant to the region today included in Perry County, built a log cabin near Old Town. About the same time establishments were also made near a place that became known as Perry Ridge, located a few miles south of Old Town. The earliest white settlers there probably were William Ford and his sons, John and Enos, who

²See Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828* (Montgomery, 1922), 9-12, 17, 24-33; John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* (2 vols., New York, 1846), II, 380, 383, 392, 446-47; Albert James Pickett, *The History of Alabama . . .* (Sheffield, 1896), 461; Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (4 vols., Chicago, 1921,) I, 14, 86; Charles S. Davis, *The Cotton Kingdom in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1939), 11-14.

had moved from Georgia. Within a year after their arrival, Perry Ridge had attracted enough people to become the most important settlement in the area.³

During 1817 there occurred three events of particular importance in the development of the region. One was the construction by the Ford family of a saw mill and a grist mill near Perry Ridge, these mills being the first definitely palpable signs of white civilization in the area. A second noteworthy event was the arrival in the Old Town vicinity of two enterprising men by the names of Thomas M. Oliver and John Durden. Their special significance arises from the fact that immediately after their arrival they constructed a cotton gin, which, according to one source of information, was "the first cotton gin between the Warrior and Cahaba rivers."⁴ Such an assertion is perhaps open to question but the construction of the gin at such an early date is important since it is evidence that cotton was already being grown, or that plans were on foot for its early cultivation. It seems rather beyond all doubt that the plant was cultivated the next year, for, according to local tradition, in 1818 cotton bloomed as late as December 23 in Perry County.⁵ It is thus assumed that either 1817 or 1818 marked the beginning of a definite interest by the people of the area in the production of the white staple, an interest that gradually came to monopolize the interests and activities of the farmers in the region and to influence significantly the entire history of Perry County until the present.

The third prominent event of 1817 in the preliminary developments of Perry County was the arrival there, in November, of a

³*The Marion (Alabama) Standard*, Feb. 26, Apr. 2, Mar. 26, 1909. An early settler in Perry County was a person named Captain W. L. Fagin. About 1886, a history of Marion, Alabama was published by Fagin in the local newspaper, *The Marion Standard*. Later, in the first few months of 1909, the history was reprinted in the same newspaper. It is from this reprint, entitled "History of Marion, 1818-1835," that much of the information about early developments in Marion has been obtained for use in this article.

⁴*Ibid.*, Apr. 2, 1909.

⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1909.

man named Mickle Muckle. As it happens, this man's name was originally Michael McElroy, but his friends and relations had first changed his name to Muckleroy and then before his arrival in Alabama had begun calling him Mickle Muckle. Traditionally he is referred to by the last name. It was he who first settled within the boundaries of the present town of Marion, the seat of Perry County. Some time in 1817 he arrived with his father-in-law, Nathan Reid, who became the founder of a family soon to be prominent in both the social and economic activities of the county. Also accompanying Reid was another son-in-law, Warner Young. Reid settled about eight miles west of the present site of Marion, Young took up land somewhat closer, and Muckle cleared about one acre of land at the exact location of the present day Perry County courthouse square, located in the center of Marion. The Muckle clearing soon acquired the title of "Muckle's Ridge" and bore that title until May, 1822, when it was changed to Marion.⁶

Meanwhile, although the Territory of Alabama was established in 1817 and the population in the Territory as a whole increased rapidly, only slight progress was made before 1819 in the vicinities of Perry Ridge, Old Town, and "Muckle's Ridge." The year 1818 was a hard one for the settlers because of failure of their corn crops. As much as three dollars per bushel was offered for corn but there was none to be had, and it was necessary to travel as far as the settlements in lower Tennessee to obtain supplies of food.⁷ This unfortunate condition retarded the growth of the region but nevertheless a few minor changes in the status of the area were apparent during the Territorial period. In 1817, hardly before he had settled, Mickle Muckle, the sole inhabitant of his "Ridge," became dissatisfied because of "overpopulation" and sold his clearing to Anderson West. The latter added a few acres to the clearing,⁸ but for almost two years took Muckle's place as the only inhabitant of the "Ridge." Moreover, as late as the spring

⁶*Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1909.

⁷*Idem.*

⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 26, 1909; see also S. A. Townes, *The History of Marion, Sketches of Life, etc. in Perry County, Alabama* (Marion, 1844), 9.

of 1819 the place was still little more than a wilderness. According to an early settler of the area, West's residence "at this time, had nothing more to entitle it to peculiar attention, than any other private neighborhoods."⁹ Perry Ridge, on the other hand, continued to attract settlers, and the importance of that place was both recognized and further enhanced during the Territorial period when a "rude log building" was constructed there for use as a courthouse.

When Alabama's first Legislature was called at Huntsville, in 1819, one of its first acts was the establishment of Perry County. Immediately there were signs of governmental activity in the county, and local officials were soon appointed. Anderson West, still occupying "Muckle's Ridge," became County Sheriff. A judge of Circuit Court and a County Court Clerk were selected.¹⁰ On April 17, 1820, Elisha F. King, a Georgian who with his relatives later comprised one of the state's wealthiest and leading cotton producing families, was appointed County Treasurer.¹¹ An Orphan's Court, so-called, of five members, was selected to direct the government of the county. Its important function, however, during its first years of existence was the supervision and construction of county roads, and it is noteworthy that for several years nearly all of the entries made in the records of the Court concerned roads and nothing else. Perry Ridge remained the seat of government for about two years. During that time two public ferries were authorized for use in crossing the Cahaba River. A mill dam was constructed near "Muckle's Ridge." Rates to be charged by ferries and public taverns and the retail price of liquors were other matters with which the Orphan's Court concerned itself.¹² On October 7, 1821, the Court met in special session and at that time issued its first permit to a minister in the county when it was ordered "that William West be ordained to Preach the Gospel

⁹*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 12, 1909.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Feb. 12, Apr. 9, 1909.

¹¹Perry County, Orphan's Court Register (Office of Probate Court, courthouse, Marion), A, 2.

¹²*Ibid.*, A, 3, 8, 9-12, 56.

and Solemnize the Rites of Matrimony he having presented Credentials for the Same."¹³

One of Perry County's earliest problems was the selection of a county seat which would be satisfactory to a majority of its settlers. Perry Ridge was of course the first seat of government but after the original boundaries of the county were laid off it became evident that the place was inconveniently located for many of the farmers in the county. As in the case of the early settlers of Alabama and their agitation for a split of the Mississippi Territory because the seat of government was too distant, people in the outlying portions of Perry County became dissatisfied with the location of their county seat.¹⁴ Demand for a more centrally located center of government was both natural and probably to be expected. In answer to the request, the State Legislature, on November 21, 1821, authorized the election of seven commissioners to select a permanent seat of government for the county. On February 4, 1822, the commissioners were elected and a month later met to make their decision. The commissioners, all of importance in the later development of Perry County, were: Joseph Evans, George Weissinger, J. K. C. Pool, John Welch, Reuben Lockett, Dr. James Shackelford, and William Ford.¹⁵ Four prospective sites were suggested when they came together. One of the commissioners wished to retain Perry Ridge. Two others preferred a place known as Burroughs Springs because, as they expressed it, "the spring was thought to contain decided medicinal virtues," and there "the boys could learn to swim, and the gentlemanly loafers would be near good fishing ground,..." Another commissioner proposed Indian Old Town because a cotton gin was in operation there and a store had been opened which "sold whiskey by the half pint." He stated, moreover, that Indian Old Town was the most thickly populated settlement in the county. Joseph Evans was the only commissioner whose first preference was "Muckle's Ridge," and he gave as reasons for his choice the central

Perry County, Minutes, Orphan's Court, July, 1821-June, 1832 (@@@ Probate Court), 18.

¹⁴*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 12, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 11.

¹⁵Perry County, Orphan's Court Register, A, 62, 67-68.

location of the place and the "beauty and healthfulness of the situation." Probably also of significance was the fact that three mercantile concerns were in operation there by 1820. Be that as it may, after bickering for a whole day over the matter, Evans was able to persuade the other commissioners that "Muckle's Ridge" should become the county seat.¹⁶

The next important incident in the development of the new county seat occurred on May 22, 1822, when the lots which had been paid off by the sheriff were sold at public auction. A small group of people present at the auction paid from \$150 to \$280 for individual lots, and sales amounting to \$1,558 were concluded. Then, when the auction had been completed it was suggested by some person in the crowd that a new name ought to be selected for the "Ridge." After several suggestions were offered for consideration, it was decided by the crowd that the new name of the place should be Marion, in honor of Francis "Swamp-fox" Marion, of American Revolution fame. Thus the site received its present name.¹⁷ At the time, however, it still contained only one family, that of Anderson West, the county sheriff. But shortly afterwards there were a few signs of advance. In June, 1822, the first church in Marion, the Siloam Baptist, was established. In the same month a second family, that of a woman named Mrs. Ann Smith, moved to Marion, and opened its first tavern or "hotel." In the same year two other taverns were opened. These were the changes occurring in Marion in 1822.¹⁸

With the selection and naming of Marion as county seat, it became necessary to construct a courthouse. In 1823 a "two story framed building, thirty six feet in length" was erected.¹⁹ It "was a peculiar looking building, having the appearance of a smoke house with windows," and sat on wooden blocks three feet high. A jail, "a double pen cabin of hewn logs, covered with boards," was also put together. In 1823 a lawyer opened an office in Marion. Cot-

¹⁶*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 12, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 16.

¹⁷*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 12, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 11-15.

¹⁸*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 19, Mar. 5, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 15.

¹⁹This building was used as a courthouse until 1832, when a brick structure was erected. *The Marion Standard*, Mar. 26, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 21.

ton was definitely replacing corn as the chief crop in parts of Perry County. A second private residence was erected in the county seat. The three stores in the place, with goods for sale to the amount of approximately two thousand dollars, continued to operate. Direct commercial contact between Marion and Mobile, the trade center of Alabama, was made, with goods being brought by pole boats up the Alabama River from Mobile to Cahaba, the state capital, thence being hauled overland to Marion. The increasing population of Perry County is perhaps partially also illustrated by the number of licenses for the sale of drinks being issued by the county government. In 1823, eleven such permits were issued to "retail Wines and Spirits by the Small measure" in the county. Several "houses of entertainment," that is, bar-rooms, were also opened. One of these so-called "dram shops," whose owner took for himself the motto of "Dum Vivimus, Vivimus," was set up in Marion.²⁰ By February, 1824, enough interest in Marion had been created among the people of the vicinity to extend the boundaries of the town. Town lots were once more offered at auction and \$1,784.62 was realized from the sales. If the prices received for the individual lots on this occasion were about the same as the prices obtained in 1822, it may be assumed that the limits of the town were now doubled.

Moreover, some noteworthy cultural developments were taking place in the region at this period. In October, 1824, a school was begun near Marion, and in the next year one was started in the town itself. The town school very naturally began in a small way, and during its first year the school's patrons consisted of five Marion families, three near the village, and one near old Perry Ridge. The procedure followed in instruction was of the customary type for such primitive enterprises. Books in use were the New Testament, the American Reader, Murray's Grammar, Smiley's Arithmetic, and Webster's Spelling Book. Spelling was the principal course, and only one study at a time was the rule. Not until the pupils had learned to spell proficiently were they allowed to advance to the use of even a slate and a copy book. Geography was an advanced course and was taught "round or

²⁰*The Marion Standard*, Feb. 19, Mar. 12, 26, Apr. 2, 1909; Perry County, Orphan's Court Register, A, 43-44; Perry County, Minutes, Orphan's Court, July, 1821-June, 1832, p. 20.

flat," according to the wishes of the pupils' parents. Teachers had to be able to sing because in teaching geography "the master formed his school in line, and marching either inside or outside of the house, beating time with his switch, he sang the states, capitals, and rivers, to some tune improvised by himself." Multiplication tables were also taught in this manner. The teacher had his "Articles" and his "Rules," the former of which had to be approved by his patrons, while the latter were established for the purpose of governing his pupils. The "Rules" were read each Monday morning and in nearly every case an infraction of a rule resulted in a whipping. In retaliation for such strictness the pupils, not yet far removed from a frontier conception of fun making, usually contrived to duck their teacher in a creek or a pond at least twice a year. If the pupils failed to execute this ritual, their parents, the patrons of the school, "assembled some Friday evening to lend a helping hand." The pupils and patrons in and near Marion enjoyed this sporting event so much that they continued to indulge in it as late as 1840 and perhaps even later. One contemporary's account of the custom contains the following description: "In 1840, a teacher not far from Marion was ducked by the patrons of the school until nearly drowned. He was carried to a deep hole in a creek and pitched in, and as fast as he crawled out, was thrown in again." A statement from the same source explains partially the reason for such a prank. It was recorded that "the founders of these institutions ate hog potatoes and bull nettles; cleared and ditched land; built log cabins; . . . made and drove wagons; owned jacks; moulded bricks; peddled chickens and tin; and rode neck-tailed horses."²¹

Frontier characteristics such as these were difficult to change but some economic and social advances were becoming evident in the region around Marion. In 1825 a new and better jail house was constructed. The first public roads to Marion were opened, one entering the town from "Burroughs Ferry" on the Cahaba River, the other from Indian Old Town where it connected with a road to Centerville. In 1826 the sum of \$671.27 was spend on roads and other transportation improvements in Perry County.

²¹*The Marion Standard*, Mar. 5, Apr. 2, 23, 1909.

Two more stores were opened in Marion.²² More business naturally developed there as a result. A house warming held in Marion in the early part of 1827, however, indicates that many social graces had to be accomplished before the region could claim it had reached a high degree of social attainment. The occasion was the opening of the first frame house in Marion, and possibly the first house of that type to be erected in the county. Twenty-five people were present for the affair. The house warming opened with a "stag dance," in which all the young men present cavorted about, with "not much regard for steps—every man for himself." The procedure was followed because it was deemed necessary by the more sedate people present who realized that the young blades "possessed such an excess of agility, that a breakdown was needed to render them sufficiently graceful to be partners for the ladies." After some dancing the guests turned to the table where "Wine, whiskey, brandy, and eggnog composed the drinkable, while the tables were filled with every procurable luxury." Altogether five gallons of eggnog alone were consumed. Following their orgy the guests then danced until day break.²³

By 1826 Marion's population, including Negroes, had increased only to 144. But in the course of the year the number increased appreciably, particularly because the capital of Alabama was moved at this time from the Dallas County town of Cahaba to the town of Tuscaloosa. When the governmental offices left Cahaba some of the residents there moved to Marion and to other towns in central Alabama.²⁴ Regardless of this unexpected influx to Marion there was still nothing resembling a boom in the village. Even so, during the next year several noteworthy changes occurred there. A cabinet shop and a tan yard were opened and soon both had developed a thriving business among the farmers of the county.

²²*Ibid.*, Mar. 19, Apr. 23, 1909; Perry County, Orphan's Court Register, A, 102, 131.

²³*The Marion Standard*, Mar. 12, Apr. 23, 1909. Some of the lumber used in the construction of this frame house came from the mill which had been constructed in 1817 near Indian Old Town. *Ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1909.

²⁴*Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1909; Townes, *op. cit.*, 22. See also Anna M. Gayle Fry, *Memories of Old Cahaba* (Nashville, 1905), 14, for a brief discussion of the abandonment of Cahaba after a great flood in 1825.

Two additional ministers, one a Presbyterian from Kentucky, were licensed to preach. The town limits were again extended. Despite these factors of progress the place could not yet claim any special significance, and an early settler has written that "indeed until the year 1828 it had the appearance of a private gentleman's country residence." One cause of the town's slow growth was the uncertainty of its permanence as the county seat. Before 1828 the State Legislature, by a mere majority vote, could change sites of county government in the state whenever it desired. But in 1828 a law passed which provided that in the future neither the boundaries of a county nor the county seat could be changed except by a two-thirds vote of the State Legislature. The result of this law, as far as Marion was concerned, was to encourage settlement. There was a noticeable and immediate increase in the county seat's growth, and "stores and shops began to multiply, and the little village assumed all the bustle and importance of a thriving town."²⁵

Within a few months another minister was licensed to preach in the county; a second physician moved to Marion and opened an office there; and in order to handle the increased traffic in the region the first road in Perry County with a width of thirty feet was constructed, whereas formerly the best roads had been only twenty feet in width. Despite these advances, however, and of others such as the arrival of two more ministers, of a tinsmith, and the construction of another saw mill, Marion was still not much to behold in the year 1830. Even the person who had earlier described it as having "the importance of a thriving town" pictured it in 1830 as merely a "delapidated Sleepy town, with dingy houses." No newspaper was yet published in Marion, although newspapers had been in print in Cahaba and Greensboro, nearby towns, as early as 1826 and 1827.²⁶ Tree stumps had been only partially removed from the town streets, and the business group amounted only to: three tavern keepers, one bar owner, three

²⁵Townes, *op. cit.*, 23; *The Marion Standard*, Mar. 19, Apr. 9, 1909; Perry County, Minutes, Orphan's Court, July, 1821-June, 1832, pp. 103, 105; Perry County, Record Book, Feb., 1820-Oct., 1840, p. 268.

²⁶*The Marion Standard*, Mar. 26, 1909; Perry County, Minutes, Orphan's Court, July, 1821-June, 1832, pp. 58, 88, 107; Perry County, Record Book, Feb., 1820-Oct., 1840, pp. 1-152, 155.

merchants, three physicians, four lawyers, one carpenter, one cabinet maker, one tailor, and one Negro blacksmith.²⁷ At this period, nevertheless, perhaps in anticipation of early growth, the town limits were extended two more times. In March, 1830, town lots to the amount of \$1,546 were sold at public auction; and in October, 1831, lots brought \$581.34.²⁸

Regardless of the great progress made by the people living in and near Marion during the 1820's, their region was still backward in comparison with certain other parts of the state. Alabama had become an important agricultural state but Marion was not yet of any particular importance economically or socially. Between 1820 and 1830, the state's population had jumped from slightly more than 125,000 to about 300,000. Although the slaves in Alabama in 1830 made up thirty-eight per cent of the population, and were shortly to assume more importance in the black belt, they had not moved in large numbers to Perry County before 1830. In that year they were still centered to a great extent in regions other than the black belt. According to the best authority, the reason for the absence of large numbers of Negroes in the black belt before the 1830's was the inability of planters to overcome the difficulties in cultivating the sticky soil of the region.²⁹ South Alabama, of which Perry County was later considered a part, had become the leading cotton producing section of the state, and the river valleys, converging on Mobile, had easily established themselves as the chief cotton growing areas of the state.³⁰ Mobile

²⁷*The Marion Standard*, Apr. 9, 1909.

²⁸A report to the Perry County Court, made on August 20, 1832, stated that sales of town lots between May, 1822 and October, 1831 amounted to \$5,608.46½. At the time of the report notes payable and due to the county totaled \$2,055.60. Perry County, Record Book, Feb., 1820-Oct., 1840, p. 268.

²⁹Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 57-58. A study of this matter which Professor Clanton W. Williams, of the University of Alabama, now has in progress is awaited with interest, for it is possible that his conclusions will differ from the ones now accepted.

³⁰South Alabama produced 7,000 bales of cotton in 1818; 10,000 in 1819; 16,000 in 1820; 25,390 in 1821; 45,423 in 1822; 49,961 in 1823; 49,924 in 1824; 58,283 in 1825; 74,379 in 1826; 89,779 in 1827; 71,155 in 1828; 80,329 in 1829; and 102,684 in 1830. *Mobile Shipping and Commercial List*, Oct. 3, 1835, and *Mobile Journal of Commerce Letter-Sheet Price-Current*, Sept. 1, 1851, in William A. Jones Papers (in possession of Miss Emma Jones and Mrs. Mary J. Lowrey, Perry County, Alabama).

itself had already attracted attention as a cotton market and port, and by 1830 had a population of 3,194.³¹ Its commercial position and social interests are described in one fashion by the following quotation from the writings of Thomas Hamilton, an English-Scotch traveller who visited the place in April, 1831: "My observations during this three days' residence afforded little to record. Mobile is a place of trade, and of nothing else. It is the great port of the cotton-growing State of Alabama. The quays are crowded with shipping, and in amount of exports it is inferior only to New Orleans. The wealth of Mobile merchants must accumulate rapidly, for they certainly do not dissipate it in expenditure. There are no smart houses or equipages, nor indeed any demonstration of opulence, except huge warehouses and a crowded harbour. Of amusements of any kind I heard nothing."³²

It was particularly during the 1830's that Marion and Perry County arrived at a place of importance. Interest in the construction of county roads had continued, and by 1832 it was necessary to appoint a total of fifty-three overseers whose duty it was to keep roads in their districts in good repair.³³ Of particular local importance was the adoption by county officials, in February, 1832, of plans for the construction of a new courthouse in Marion. The building was to be erected at a cost of \$5,000, and was to be completed two years after the contract was let. In March a contractor and superintendent of construction were selected, and in May the sum of \$900 was advanced by the county to the contractor in order that he might begin work. Before it was completed, however, the new building cost the county \$9,356.³⁴ The expenditure of such a sum is evidence enough of the economic advance of the region, particularly when it is remembered that the original courthouse, built eleven years earlier, had been a frame building "having the appearance of a smoke house with windows." Another sign of increased activity was the establishment, in 1832, of a second tan

³¹*Fifteenth Census of the United States: Population* (Washington, 1931, I, 66.)

³²Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America* (2 vols., London, 1833), II, 240.

³³Perry County, Record Book, Feb., 1820-Oct., 1840, pp. 240-47.

³⁴The contractor was Gabriel A. Moffett; successive superintendents were Samuel H. Nelms, James M. Carter, and John Rutledge. *Ibid.*, 255, 259, 260, 280, 294, 295, 304, 320, 328, 341, 378.

yard in Marion.³⁵

Two churches were organized in the village in 1832. In the previous year, subscriptions for the establishment of a Presbyterian Church were begun, and on July 30, 1832 the church began its operation.³⁶ At about the same time the Perry County Court ordered "that the Methodist Episcopal denomination of Christians be permitted to erect a Church on the South West Corner of the four acre lot Reserved in the town of Marion for Churches."³⁷ The founders of these churches were still not far removed from a typical frontier outlook, although many of them had settled down and become small farmers. Their dress seems noteworthy. They are supposed not to have been much concerned about the style of their clothing; and at such social gatherings as log rollings and church functions their customary outfit consisted of brown jeans, jacket, and pants. A contemporary record indicates also that at a Baptist meeting in 1832, near Marion, there were only "three citizens who wore broad cloth, and one who owned a buggy."³⁸ Within the same year, however, great changes were occurring in dress and social customs as practiced by the people in and near Marion. The innovations came primarily as a result of the final realization that the soil of the adjacent black belt was extraordinarily adaptable for the cultivation of cotton, especially of an upland, blight proof variety of the staple which had just been introduced into the region. Farmers in Perry County and other counties of central Alabama were at last convinced that the sticky, messy black belt soil and reputedly unhealthy area where it was located could be turned to their advantage. The ultimate result was the rise of Alabama to the position as the foremost cotton producing state in the south. With this all absorbing interest and activity came

³⁵Perry County, Minutes, Orphan's Court, B, 71.

³⁶The first minister of this church was Robert Nall, the son of Mrs. Ann Smith, the second settler of "Muckle's Ridge," whose first husband had been a James Nall. Her son, Robert, graduated from Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; was licensed in October, 1833, by the Presbytery of South Alabama; and was ordained on November 16, 1834. He was minister in Marion for nine years. In 1843, the Marion Presbyterian Church had 225 members. *The Marion Standard*, Apr. 16, 1909.

³⁷Perry County, Record Book, Feb., 1820-Oct., 1840, p. 266.

³⁸*The Marion Standard*, Apr. 9, 1909.

many new customs, great wealth, a highly developed social order, many new social problems, all-out support of the institution of slavery, and finally, in an effort to maintain the social and economic system which resulted, a willingness to rush into a War Between the States.

There is an interesting local tradition concerning the manner in which the farmers and planters of the Marion vicinity became convinced that the black belt could be farmed. Not only had they previously been dubious of the fertility of the black belt, but because of the extremely muddy condition of the top soil following rainy weather they believed the region to be unhealthy and fever ridden. In addition, the low-hanging mists which still are often noticeable over parts of the black belt were designated as "swamp gas" and were believed to cause fevers. In the early 1830's, in order to check on these beliefs, a number of farmers purchased a Negro slave, constructed a small hut in the black belt near Marion, put in a store of supplies for the Negro, gave him some tools, and left him to live or die. After some time when the owners rode out to the slave's hut and found him exuberantly fat and healthy and working a patch of vegetables they became convinced that the region was inhabitable. It is of course impossible to check precisely on the truthfulness of this story, but immediately afterwards numerous cotton plantations were opened in the area and Marion at last indeed became a thriving trade center. As evidence of the resulting boom is the amount of black belt land taken up in the county. As it happens, there are only five territorial subdivisions of Perry County which are completely within the black belt.³⁹ They contain a total of 180 irregular sections, comprising 112,565½ acres, most of which was purchased after 1830 thus indicating that it was after this date that the people in Perry County showed interest enough in black belt soil to obtain it. In 1819 only 5,497 and a fraction acres were bought, and of this amount the state had reserved five sections, approximately 3,000 acres, for educational purposes. From 1820 to 1829, inclusive, only 11,921 acres were

³⁹These subdivisions are: township eighteen, north, ranges six, seven and eight, east; township seventeen, north, range six, east; and township sixteen, north, range six, east.

purchased.⁴⁰ Of the 112,565½ acres of black belt land in the above mentioned five subdivisions, the amazing total of 91,394 acres were entered from 1830 through 1835. In 1830 alone the amount entered at the land office was 31,128.84 acres.⁴¹ After 1835 the rest of the black belt soil was bought intermittently until 1852, and by the end of the latter year all of the land except the few acres still owned by the state was privately owned.⁴²

Perhaps the results locally of the final appreciation of Perry County black belt land in the early 1830's is best described by a statement accredited to an early settler: "I came to Perry County in 1832 with Anderson West, who was speculating in Negroes, and brought a drove with him at the time. Passing through the Creek Indians, we camped at Mt. Meigs, west of Montgomery. Farmers were picking cotton and clearing land,—the axes were cutting until midnight, and an hour before day next morning. Camped near Marion Saturday night. Negroes were cutting timber all night until sunrise Sunday. Marion was thronged with people on Sunday, talking about cotton and "niggers." Every man we met, either wanted to buy a "nigger" or "take a drink."⁴³ Great changes indeed took place in the economic and social life of Marion and the black belt from the thirties until the War Between the States.⁴⁴ As a whole the state prospered immensely during the period because of the cotton economy developing during those years. Population, white and black, increased enormously. Important towns sprang up. Transportation facilities, mainly for the purpose of moving cotton and plantation supplies speedily, were augmented.

⁴⁰Perry County, Alabama Tract Book (Office of Probate Court), 1-36, 97-108, 151-62. A total of 5,782.09 acres was bought in 1820; 630.32 in 1821; 958.76 in 1822; none in 1823; 771.75 in 1824; 80.46 in 1825; 478.95 in 1826; 478.21 in 1827; 849.64 in 1828; and 1,891.90 in 1829. *Idem*.

⁴¹Black belt land, in the five subdivisions, of 11,304.96 acres was bought in 1831; 14,711.85 in 1832; 9,212.21 in 1833; 13,379.47 in 1834; and 11,657.47 in 1835. *Idem*.

⁴²Entries were made for 1,510.40 acres in 1836; 199.23 in 1837; none in 1838 and 1839; 40 in 1840; 40.03 in 1841; none in 1842 and 1843; 40 in 1844; 280.28 in 1845; 39.92 in 1846; 919.23 in 1847; 161.38 in 1848; 359.67 in 1849; 80.13 in 1850; none in 1851; and 80.14 in 1852. *Idem*.

⁴³*The Marion Standard*, Apr. 9, 1909.

⁴⁴See Clanton W. Williams, "Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery: A Black Belt Constituency," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (November, 1941), 495-525.

Marion was among the towns to benefit particularly from the new interests, and after 1857 became a terminus of the Cahawba and Marion Railroad.⁴⁵ Perry County was in the middle of the cotton country, and Marion became a trade center for some of the largest planters in Alabama. The town and general region in which it was situated attracted many new settlers in the thirties.⁴⁶ Except for the nation wide Panic of 1837, good times came and continued until the outbreak of the War Between the States. Marion became a place of extensive legal transactions resulting from the almost unending purchase of slaves and land.

Moreover, some of the interests and activities of the people in and near Marion were of the kind which could have developed only in a region making impressive cultural advance. Crudeness in many respects was admittedly present but as was usually the case in regions passing from a somewhat frontier outlook, a cultural conflict existed between those people little interested in enlightenment and those striving for a society fashioned after that of the more settled areas to the east. By 1834, however, Marion was the terminus of at least two stage coach lines. Many new bridges and other transportation contrivances were constructed in Perry County.⁴⁷ Contact with towns located along the Alabama River system was well established, with most local commercial transactions being with Selma, in Dallas County, with Cahaba, and with Mobile. The Marion people had access to information of all sorts from the outside, and although the town itself had no

⁴⁵The author has in progress an article on a Perry County planter of the ante-bellum period and will include in it a discussion in some detail of the construction of this railroad. The article will appear under the title: The Elisha F. King Family, Planters of the Alabama Black Belt.

⁴⁶George W. Featherstonhaugh, an Englishman travelling in January, 1835 from Montgomery through western Georgia wrote: "In the course of the day we met a great many families of planters emigrating to Alabama and Mississippi to take up cotton plantations, . . . We passed at least 1,000 negro slaves all trudging on foot, and worn down with fatigue." A few days later he added, "At one time of the day we certainly passed 1,200 people, black and white, on foot." Walter Brownlow Posey (ed.), "Alabama in the 1830's As Recorded by British Travellers," in Birmingham-Southern College *Bulletin*, XXXI (December, 1938), 29, 30.

⁴⁷Perry County, Record Book, 366; Perry County, Minutes of the Commissioners Court (Office of Probate Court), A, Jan., 1841-July, 1851, p. 13.

local newspapers until 1839 its citizens subscribed to numerous newspapers and other publications printed elsewhere. Among the state newspapers being read in 1834 were *The (Cahaba) Alabama Republican*; the *Selma Free Press*; and the *States Rights Exposition and Spirit of the Age* of Tuscaloosa.⁴⁸ Many out-of-state publications, particularly farm journals, were also in circulation. Temperance speakers, preachers, side-shows, caravans of animals, musicians, and quack doctors also added to the pleasures of the citizens.

Among the greatest cultural accomplishments of Marion, however, was the establishment there of three schools of higher learning. Except a few private establishments, no schools existed in the town in 1832. Within ten years the people could boast of three colleges, two for women and one for men. The first to open its doors was the Marion Female Seminary, a Methodist school organized in 1836. Its founders were Andrew Barry Moore, afterwards governor of Alabama; John D. Phelan, a local lawyer and later a judge; Leonard A. Weissinger, a successful Marion merchant; Mark A. Wyatt, another merchant; and William Albert Jones, an outstanding planter of Perry and Dallas Counties.⁴⁹ The school never had a large attendance but managed to continue to operate as late as 1918. The other school for women set up in Marion was Judson Female Institute, which afterwards became a Baptist institution and in 1904 had its name changed to Judson College. It was founded in 1838 and still functions in Marion. The third school to be established was Howard College for men. It was begun in 1842 and continued to operate in Marion until 1887-1888, when it was moved to Birmingham, Alabama, where it is at present.⁵⁰ By 1842, with its three schools, Marion could therefore correctly be considered as one of the leading educational centers of the state. There is no doubt that the presence of the colleges brought about a social advance as important as cotton culture brought in the field of economics. Teachers from various

⁴⁸Perry County, Minutes, Orphans Court, July, 1821-June, 1832, p. 279; *ibid.*, B, July, 1832-Mar., 1838, pp. 40, 72, 139.

⁴⁹Townes, *op. cit.*, 26-27; Jones Papers.

⁵⁰Townes, *op. cit.*, 15, 52, 60; Jones Papers; Louise Manly, *History of Judson College*, (Atlanta, 1899), 9; *Howard College Bulletin*, XCVIII (Birmingham, 1940), 22; A. Elizabeth Taylor (ed.), "Regulations Governing Life at the Judson Female Institute During the Decade Preceding the Civil War," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, III (Spring Issue, 1941), 23-29.

sections of the United States, and even from Europe, moved to Marion and took with them new ideas and conceptions. Many novel social customs were introduced and the teachers and the schools were partially responsible for speeding up the general cultural development of the town and region in which they were located. With three colleges in the neighborhood, the people of Perry could without difficulty attend numerous public receptions, speeches, concerts, and similar functions. In this connection, in 1847, a Marion matron wrote to her husband, who was at the time visiting New York City, that "The Judson concert came off on last Thursday evening and was very well attended as the Judson concerts always are"⁵¹

Meanwhile, many noticeable physical improvements had occurred in Marion. By 1844 the town comprised one square mile and had a population of 1,500.⁵² Numerous new business concerns had been organized and in 1844 a resident described them as follows: "We have eight dry goods stores, which all together sell annually, say \$180,000, according to the estimate of one of our intelligent merchants. Marion has also two groceries—not dram shops—two confectionaries; two drug stores, two shoe makers' shops, one tin ware manufactory, two saddlers shops, two livery stables, three blacksmiths' shops, four tailors' shops, two carriage makers, one gin factory, two cabinet work shops, two printing offices—the Marion Telegraph office . . . and the Herald office . . . and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, have opened a lodge ..." Already the Masonic Order was in operation. Professional men in the town were listed as "9 Peachers, 6 Doctors of Medicine, M. D., 3 Botanic or Steam Doctors, 15 Lawyers, 2 Resident Surgeon Dentists, 1 Barber."⁵³ Several new church buildings had been constructed, the Baptists in particular having erected an elaborate ediface, in 1837, a building costing seven thousand dollars, "one of the most elegant and tasty houses of worship in the State." Church memberships in Marion in 1844 were: Baptist, 375; Presbyterain, 213; Methodist, 78; and Campbellites, 15.⁵⁴ An

⁵¹Mary A. Fowlkes to Samuel H. Fowlkes, Mar. 1, 1847, in Samuel H. Fowlkes Papers (in possession of Edward Lee, Perry County).

⁵²Townes, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 31-32.

Episcopal Church was also in operation. In 1844 even the Latter Day Saints claimed a small membership in Marion.⁵⁵ A temperance society in town, in keeping with the general drive against drink in the south in the 1840's, had about five hundred members, although two taverns were in operation. In an effort to curb drinking, however, the city authorities had passed an ordinance establishing a tax of one thousand dollars on retailers of whiskey.⁵⁶ Preliminary arrangements were made for the founding of a poor house in the county but it was not until January, 1852 that 'the county officials got around to the appointment of a committee to purchase land on which to construct a building for housing the poor.'⁵⁷ By 1844, also, Whig and Democratic discussion groups had been organized, and at their meetings were talking about the expediency of a national bank, the Quadruple Alliance, the Holy Alliance, "and other such small matters."⁵⁸ Marion in 1844 was indeed very much alive.

⁵²Deposited in the Office of Probate Court, Marion, is a Mormon Bible, containing an affidavit, dated 1844, granting permission to the Latter Day Saints to practice their religion in Perry County.

⁵⁶Townes, *op. cit.*, 26, 31-33.

⁵⁷Perry County, Minutes, Commissioners Court, A, Jan., 1841-July, 1851, p. 57; *Ibid.*, B, 20.

⁵⁸Townes, *op. cit.*, 26, 31-33.

CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL FARROW RICE

By Lucien D. Gardner, Chief Justice

Samuel Farrow Rice is, perhaps, unique in the list of learned lawyers who have held the highest judicial office in Alabama, in the variety of occupations he followed from time to time, and the ability, coupled with good fortune, which enabled him, a native of another state, to come to Alabama, establish himself in the practice of the law, and, after some unsuccessful races for Congress, to be elected to the Alabama Legislature, elected by that body State Printer, and later Associate Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, and later to be appointed Chief Justice of that Court, which office he held with distinction from January 15, 1856 until January 25, 1859.

Prior to the Constitution of 1868 the Justices of the Supreme Court were elected by the Legislature, the provision for election by the qualified electors first appearing in the basic law of 1868. Justice Rice was therefore elected pursuant to the original Constitution of 1819.

Available data is missing as to the reason for his appointment by the Governor as Chief Justice, but such appointment was the practice during the period he was on the bench: the first mention of his appointment being in the 28th Alabama Reports, evidently to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Justice George Goldthwaite, who was Chief Justice, according to the same authority, for a period of only thirteen days, when he was succeeded January 15, 1856 by Justice Rice, up to then an Associate Justice.

Justice Rice's opinions, found in the Alabama Reports, 28 to 33, inclusive, are a credit to the Court, and his resignation, to return to the practice of law, was distinctly a loss.

After his resignation he was at various times associated in the practice with James E. Belser, George Goldthwaite and Henry C. Semple, all first rank in the earlier Bar of Montgomery. In later years he engaged in the practice at the Montgomery Bar

with Hon. A. A. Wiley, one of its ablest practitioners and who afterwards represented this district in Congress, under the firm name of Rice and Wiley.

He was born in Union District, South Carolina, June 2, 1816, the son of William Rice, for years the Judge of Ordinary of that District. After graduating from South Carolina College, he read law in the office of United States Senator Preston of his native state, and was admitted to practice in 1838. After a short period of practice in South Carolina he moved in that year to Talladega County, Alabama, where for some years he practiced law with Philip E. Pearson, John T. Morgan and Thomas D. Clark. Also, while a resident in Talladega, he owned and edited for six years "The Watchtower". He was elected to the Legislature 1840-41, and was elected by that body as State Printer in 1841, but held the office but a few months and returned to the practice.

Thereafter, in 1852, he removed to Montgomery, and was elected by the Legislature as Associate Justice. Later, after his resignation from the bench, he was elected State Senator for the counties of Montgomery and Autauga, 1861-1865.

As stated above, his activities were various. He was successively a lawyer, editor, legislator, State Printer, Associate Justice, Chief Justice and State Senator, and left a most enviable reputation as a lawyer, remembered by the older members of the present Montgomery Bar as one of the traditions of the great lawyers who formerly practiced there. His grandson, Samuel Rice Baker, a prominent member of the Montgomery Bar, is now in the **Military** Service.

Judge Rice is probably without parallel in Alabama. We do not know "The Watchtower," now lost in the passage of time, but his experience with that publication evidently was the cause of his election of State Printer. These activities, outside of the practice, however, just as his races for Congress, appeared without effect on his ability as a jurist and as a practicing lawyer. To move to Montgomery as he did and within two years after to be elected Associate Justice of our highest Court is a thing that speaks for itself just as does his appointment, with a few days more than a year's service, to the highest judicial office within the gift of the State. No such record could be made of a man lacking

in any way in the qualities which make up a lawyer of first rank.

It is unfortunate that he did not remain longer on the bench, but at the time the salary of the justices of the Supreme Court was low, and offered small temptation to a lawyer of ability. We may take it that this was the reason governing the resignations of Justice Rice and Justice Goldthwaite—that an able lawyer could make so much more in private practice, and that a position on our highest court offered little besides honor. It is remarkable that with such conditions obtaining, we had on the Supreme Court men of the calibre of Rice, Brickell, Stone, McClellan and others, whose names are recalled with respect by every practitioner of our State.

The opinions of Justice Rice, and his briefs before the Court, are worthy of the study of every Alabama lawyer. His is one of the great names of the Alabama Bar and will remain so, as long as the Court exists.

SIDNEY LANIER

By Elizabeth Haley Moore

(This article was prepared by the author during the centennial of Lanier's birth, 1842-1942. Mrs. Moore was formerly a teacher in Alabama College and still resides at Montevallo. It is particularly interesting at this time in view of the fact that the United Daughters of the Confederacy throughout the nation are trying to have Sidney Lanier chosen by the board of control of the Hall of Fame in New York.)



SIDNEY LANIER
Age Fifteen

On February 3, 1842, just one hundred years ago, in the cultured old town of Macon, Georgia, was born Sidney Lanier, the South's sweetest singer and one of America's truest poets. His was a goodly heritage: from the "spacious days of great Elizabeth", his ancestors for generations had been court musicians, masters of the king's music, and his Virginia forebears had been members of the House of Burgesses, gifted in music and oratory.

In the Georgia home of his lawyer father and gracious mother, the child Sidney drew from "bones" merry jigs and gay strathspeys, and practically without instruction, learned to play the piano, drum, organ, violin, flageolet, guitar, banjo, flute. It was the violin which commanded his soul, but, out of deference to his father who feared for him the powerful fascination of that instruction, he devoted himself to the flute. Conquering from it strange violin effects and marvelous bird-notes, his tones were characterized by wondrous sweetness and mellowness, a certain passionate appeal in noble joys, holy sorrows. He is still remembered as the greatest flute player the world has ever known.

At fourteen, Sidney Lanier entered Oglethorpe College, from which he was four years later graduated with first honors and the award of a tutorship. Judged by present-day standards, his Alma Mater was not a real college, but it had one true teacher, Professor James Woodrow (the scholarly cousin for whom President Woodrow Wilson was named) and he proved a strong and lasting influence.

Like Plato's "ideal scholar", Sidney Lanier was "a lover not of a part of wisdom, but of the whole; who had a taste for every sort of knowledge, who was curious to learn, and was never satisfied". Music, science, invention, philosophy, history, Anglo-Saxon—he was a careful student of all these arts.

In April, 1861, the young scholar enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army. Three times he refused promotion because that would separate him from his beloved younger brother Clifford, but finally each of them was given charge of a boat to run the blockade. Sidney's was soon captured and he was thrown into prison at Point Lookout, where he languished for five months.

Altho for four years Mr. Lanier was earnestly devoted to the Confederacy and zealously performed his every duty to the cause in which he believed, the horror of war grew upon him to the end. Its tyranny and Christlessness oppressed his soul; and in his only novel, "Tiger Lilies", he has a powerful allegory-sermon against this awful thing.

Released from prison, he trudged most of the long and weary way home, with the precious flute which had been hidden in his sleeve when he was captured.

Exposure and hardship in army service and in prison developed in him the dread disease from which he suffered the remaining sixteen years of his heroic life. His struggle with poverty, disease, and death was sad and brave but from it he wrested a splendid fragment.

For two years, he was clerk in the Exchange Hotel and organist in the First Presbyterian Church in Montgomery, Alabama; then Principal one year of the Prattville (Alabama) Academy; then back to Macon, Georgia, where, for four years, he studied

and practiced law with his father.

In 1867, he was married to Mary Day, of Macon, Georgia, and this was an ideal union, evoking lovely tributes in his poetry and in many letters which are exquisite prose poems. Rarely has there been a more beautiful expression of devotion than in "My Springs":

"In the heart of the Hills of Life, I know
Two springs that with unbroken flow
Forever pour their lucent streams
Into my soul's far Lake of Dreams.

O Love, O wife, thine eyes are they,
My springs from whose shining gray
Issue the sweet celestial streams
That feed my life's bright Lake of Dreams.

Dear eyes, dear eyes and rare complete—
Being heavenly-sweet and earthly-sweet,
I marvel that God made you mine,
For when He frowns, 'is then ye shine'."

In "*June Dreams in January*" he says

"His worshipful sweet wife sat still, afar,
Within the village whence she sent him forth
Into the town to make his name and fame,
Waiting, all confident and proud and calm,
Till he should make for her his name and fame" And when
the "critic-god" "writ upon the margin of the Dream
A wondrous, wondrous word that in a day
Did turn the fleeting song to very bread", he "quick sends"
the news
"O sweet my Sweet, to dream is power,
And I can dream thee bread and dream thee wine,
And I will dream thee robes and gems, dear Love,
To clothe thy holy loveliness withal,
And I will dream thee here to live by me,
Thee and my little man thou hold'st at breast,
Come, Name, come, Fame, and kiss my Sweetheart's feet!"

For medical treatment and for healing Gulf and sea breezes and the breath of pine and clover blossoms, we find him in New York City, Philadelphia, Brunswick, Georgia, Florida, San Antonio; but again and again there is a hemorrhage, and, always, he is coughing, coughing.

Yielding finally to the insistent call of music and poetry, Mr. Lanier, in 1873, located in Baltimore, becoming first flute in the Peabody Symphony Orchestra. In addition, he gave private lectures on Shakespere and on *The English Novel*, and later he was appointed lecturer on English Literature in Johns Hopkins University. During his last course of lectures at Johns Hopkins, he was so feeble he had to go in a closed carriage and sit during his lecture, while his pupils listened in fascinated terror lest he should not live through the hour.

Besides *The English Novel* in which he emphasized what personality has done in literature, *The Science of English Verse* in which he insists that *time* and not *accent* is the basis of poetic rhythm, *Florida*, written for a railroad company and called a "spiritualized guide book", Mr. Lanier wrote "potboilers", as he styled them, in a fine series of old hero tales, *The Boy's Froissart*, *The Boy's Mabinogion*, *The Boy's Percy*, *The Boy's King Alfred*.

Mr. Lanier had a keen sense of humor, as shown in his inimitable mimicry of the "Georgia cracker" and by his dialect poems, "*Thar's More in the Man Than Thar Is In the Land*", "*Jones's Private Argument*", &c.

He was one of the finest letter-writers of the nineteenth or any other century. Many of his letters are preserved—to his wife, his father, his brother, Bayard Taylor, Dudley Buck, President Gilman. They reveal a delightful playfulness, tender love of family, of home, of genuine hospitality, deepest religious feeling, a desperate earnestness of purpose. I quote from two—this to his wife:

"Jan. 1, 1875. A thousand-fold Happy New Year to thee, and I would that thy whole year may be as full of sweetness as my heart is full of thee. All day I dwell with my dear ones there with thee. I do so long for one hearty romp with my boys again! Kiss them most fervently for me, and say over their heads my New

Year's prayer, that whether God may color their lives bright or black, they may continually grow in a large and hearty manhood, compounded of strength and love. —Let us lead them to love—that is the sum and substance of a perfect life. And so God's divine rest be upon every head under the roof that covers thine this night, prayeth thy Husband."

In a letter to a friend, Mr. Lanier describes his going to house-keeping in Baltimore: "The painters, the whitewashers, the plumbers, the locksmiths, the carpenters, the gasfitters, the stove-put-uppers, the carmen, the pianomovers, the carpet layers—all these have I seen, bargained with, reproached for bad jobs, and finally paid off; I have also coaxed my landlord into all manner of outlays:—I have furthermore bought at least three hundred and twenty-seven household utensils which suddenly came to be absolutely necessary to our existence: I have moreover hired a colored gentlewoman who is willing to wear out my carpets, burn out my range, freeze out my water pipes, and be generally useful. I confess that I am a little nervous about the bills, which must come in, in the course of time; but then the dignity of being liable for such things. . . is a very supporting consideration.—Every day when I sit in my dining room—**my** dining room! . . I find the wish growing stronger that each poor soul in Baltimore, whether saint or sinner, could come and dine with me."

Sidney Lanier was not a lover of "art for art's sake". The holiness of beauty as well as the beauty of holiness he emphasized. The power of a great consecration was upon him. There is an inspiring potency of the upward look that shines from his eyes. He tried to see all, he trusted God, and he was not afraid.

On September 7, 1881, in a tent on a North Carolina mountainside, his "unfaltering will rendered its supreme submission to the adored will of God." As he was dying he said to his attendants, "Turn my head to the window that I may face the sunrise". On the memorial stone near Troyon, North Carolina, are these words:

"Night slipped to dawn and pain merged into beauty.
Bright grew the road his weary feet had trod;
He gave his salutation to the morning,
And found himself before the face of God" . .
With cypress, mourners came, but laurel-crowned,
They found him smiling in the arms of death".

They buried him in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore, but "his name still shines, his fame still glows". Most applicable to himself are the closing lines of his little poem, *Life and Song*:

"His song was only living aloud,
His work, a singing with the hand".

Mr. Lanier's poems are characterized by sweet surprises of beauty, secrets of harmonious sound, a sense of spaciousness, an air of greatness, a large, unfolding, irradiating imagination, a faith that smiles immortally.

Hills and trees and streams and clouds and birds and bees were the dear companions, the teachers of the eager, dreaming boy Lanier, and to the man Sidney Lanier there come eloquent many-sided visions of nature and her large ministry to him. The hills of Habersham and the valleys of Hall in his Georgia uplands, the Marshes of Glynn in his Georgia lowlands, the lovely hills and meadows of Chester in Pennsylvania's gardenland, the Florida Sunday where "the grace of God made manifest in curves", in "the long, lissome coast that in and outward swerves"—in all of these we see Mother Nature prompting the soul of her child to bow at her shrine. Wonderfully appealing to me is his musical composition "the Gnat Symphony", brief and graceful like the gnats which it describes. Hear Mr. Lanier's own explanation: "Early on a warm morning of last summer, Charley (his son) and I were walking in the dense shadow of some noble oaks, in Georgia, when suddenly the rising sun shot a ray through the leaves, which illuminated the festivities of a swarm of midges. The dance of the careless little creatures was at once perplexing, graceful, and fascinating. Each midge seemed to have his own little sphere within which he moved *ad libitum*, yet he always preserved such limits as would not interfere with the general outline of the wonderfully precise figures which the entire mass of midges were continually describing in endless variety;—playing much the same part as a man does in the Great

Plan of Life. They advanced; retreated; swayed hither and thither;—expanded into a large sphere, contracted into a small one; described figures of arches, columns, squares, and the like; and sometimes, as if by a signal communicated with the rapidity of lightning from the topmost to the lowest, they would all descend and disappear on the ground,—like a beautifully laid chromatic scale running down into silence. This piece is a translation of the same”.

How often have I been fascinated by the sight of just such a phenomenon! But alas, no poetic-musical interpretation came to my prosaic, matter-of-fact mind!

In “*The Mocking Bird*” Mr. Lanier says:

“Whate’er birds did or dreamed, this bird could say,
Then down he shot, bounced airily airily along
The sward, twitched in a grasshopper, made song
Midflight, perched, prinked, and to his art again.
Sweet Science, this large riddle read me plain:
How may the death of that dull insect be
The life of yon trim Shakspeare on the tree?”

Speaking of (“The Harlequin of) Dreams, He says “I think thou’rt Jester at the Court of Heaven! *The Song of the Chattahoochee* is more than a nature poem—it is an artistic expression of the ideal of service, It well bears comparison with Poe’s “El Dorado,” Longfellow’s “Excelsior”, Tennyson’s “Brook”. In it you hear the impatient, hurrying movement of a mountain stream, its alliteration, its onomatopoeia, its rhymes, both end and middle, heightening the delightful effect. It is not the baby bustle of the eager little brook, which “chatters, chatters as it goes to join the brimming river”, but the more stately harmony of the manly river which, because “downward the voices of Duty call” “is fain to water the plain”.

In *The Crystal*, Mr. Lanier pays beautiful tribute to many of earth’s great ones, but finds in each—Buddha, Milton, Emerson, Dante, Tennyson,—some small flaw to pardon, but

“Oh, what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
Jesus, good Paragon, thou Crystal Christ?”

In *The Symphony*, a passionate plea for liberty and justice, the orchestral instruments are protesting in harmony against modern capitalism—"The time needs heart—'tis tired of head". "And yet shall Love himself be heard"—"Music is Love in search of a word".

His exquisite *Ballad of Trees and the Master* is the mystic's story of our Lord's agony and victory in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Amazing is Mrs. Lanier's story of how this poem came: "It was in his last illness. I hesitated to leave him when a sick friend sent for me. He insisted that there must be some good reason and asked me to arrange for him a desk that attached to his bed side. When I returned from my simple preparation to go to our friend, he handed me "The Ballad of Trees and the Master" and said "Take this to her and tell her it comes to her fresh from the mint". This beautiful poem, set to noble music, is included in various church hymnals, and is appropriately and impressively used as a communion hymn.

"Into the woods my Master went
Clean forspent, forspent.
Into the woods my Master came,
Forspent with love and shame.
But the olives they were not blind to him,
The little gray leaves were kind to Him:
The thorn-tree had a mind to Him
When into the woods He came.

Out of the woods my Master went,
And He was well content.
Out of the woods my Master came,
Content with death and shame.
When Death and Shame would woo Him last,
From under the trees they drew Him last:
'Twas on a tree they slew Him—last
When out of the woods He came.

"Sunrise" is generally regarded as Mr. Lanier's best poem. It was written when his fever temperature was 104 degrees, and he was too weak to feed himself. In his sleep, he says, he "was fain of their fellowship, fain

Of the live-oak, the marsh, and the main,
The little green leaves would not let me alone in my sleep.
Ye lispers, whisperers, singers in storms,

Friendly, sisterly, sweetheart leaves,
Oh, rain me down from your darks that contain me
Wisdoms ye winnow from winds that pain me,—
Sift down tremors of sweet-within-sweet
That advise me of more than they bring,—repeat
Me the woods—smell that swiftly but now brought breath
From the heaven-side bank of the river of death,—
Teach me the terms of silence,—preach me
The passion of patience,—sift me,—impeach me,—
And there, oh there
As ye hang with your myriad palms upturned in the air,
Pray me a myriad prayer.”

In this poem and in “The Marshes of Glynn” we find the innermost soul of poetry. There is a large, unfolding, irradiating imagination which reveals itself as he sings of

“The length and the breadth and the sweep of the marshes of “Glynn” which “Spread and span, like the catholic man who hath mightily won God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain”.

“Belief overmasters doubt, and I **know** that I know” is his triumphant cry, and he makes the wondrous comparison:

“As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold, I will build me a nest on the greatness of God;
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space ’twixt the marsh
and the skies:
By so many roots as the marsh-grass sends in the sod
I will heartily lay me a-hold on the greatness of God:
Oh, like to the greatness of God is the greatness within
The range of the marshes, the liberal marshes of Glynn”.

Sidney Lanier was Southern by birth, temperament, experience. He knew the South: its scenery was the background of his poetry: its marshes, seashore, forests, cornfields, birds, flowers, stirred his imagination. He was heir to all the life of the past, but he was

singularly modern. The work he has left is in a peculiar sense the product of a genius influenced by Southern ideals of chivalry, grace of manners, generosity, enthusiasm, and so should be singularly precious to us of the South. And yet Sidney Lanier was never provincial; he was far removed from prejudice. He was truly and distinctively national, one of the first men in America to rise to a genuinely national point of view. This is seen in letters to Northern friends, to his brother in Montgomery, in his Confederate Memorial Address delivered in Macon in 1870, and very finely in the sweep and rhythm of his noble "Psalm of the West", particularly in its Columbus sonnets.

In 1876, Mr. Lanier gladly accepted an invitation to write the Cantata for the opening of the Philadelphia Centennial. This was sung to the music of Dudley Buck and under the direction of Theodore Thomas. Dr. Daniel C. Gilman says, "I clearly remember how hard it was for the eminent speakers on that occasion to interest the assembled throngs, but Lanier's Ode held the assembly spell-bound." This was the first official poetic interpretation of nationality in the history of the country—"the hymn of the New World and the new race, in the totality of its experience and achievements, not in antagonism to the Old World, but in fulfillment of the life of the race". Sidney Lanier was not Georgia-minded, nor even Southern-minded: he was American-minded.

Since his death, many honors have been paid to Sidney Lanier, the man and poet. High Schools are named for him in Montgomery, Alabama, Macon, Georgia, and Los Angeles, California; there are tablets in Montgomery and Macon, and Prattville, Ala., where he taught; there are bronze portrait busts of him in Macon and in Baltimore; Lanier Rooms in Johns Hopkins University and in Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia; a peak in the Great Smoky Mountains is named Mount Lanier; granting the request of the first Alabama Chautauqua Assembly in Shelby Springs, the C.L. S. C. class of 1898-1902 was named "The Laniers" in honor of the devoted poet-brothers, Sidney and Clifford; many of his poems have been set to music by Dudley Buck, George W. Chadwick, Peter C. Lutkin, A. Oscar Browne, Henry Hadley, Howard R. Thatcher.

This year, the centenary of Sidney Lanier was brilliantly celebrated in elaborate ceremonies with programs by the Peabody In-

stitute and the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. On February 2nd and 3rd there were the unveiling of an outdoor memorial, a bronze and stone monument by Mr. Hans Schuler, pupil of St. Gaudens and Director of the Maryland Institute of Art, the gift of the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore; the formal opening of the Lanier Room, half-museum and half-library, containing the University's fine collection of Lanieriana, some of the poets furniture, pictures and ornaments, his desk, bookcases, and library, and a large part of his correspondence and manuscript; and a magnificent tribute in the concert hall of The Peabody Institute, when, with President Isaiah Bowman presiding, a delightful address was delivered by Dr. William Lyon Phelps, Professor of English Literature Emeritus of Yale University: there was Lanier music by soloist, a chorus and the orchestra of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, the musical program being recorded by the Peabody Department of Research for permanent preservation.

Features of this program were *Danse des Mouchérons* (Gnat Symphony) by John Burgess, Flautist, and Frank Whitmore's bass solo from "The Centennial Meditation of Columbia"—Words which should be deep-graven upon the heart and conscience of our dear land to-day:

"Long as thine Art shall love true love,
Long as thy Science truth shall know,
Long as thine Eagle harms no dove,
Long as thy Law by Law shall grow,
Long as thy God is God above,
Thy brother every man below,
So long, dear Land of all my love,
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!"

Acknowledgments

In the preparation of this paper, I have received help from many sources: Many letters from Mr. Clifford Lanier and conversations with him. Recollections of my mother, whose home was directly across the street from that where the Laniers spent a summer in Marietta, Georgia.

Recollections of an old cousin who lived in Macon, Georgia, and knew the Laniers intimately.

Newspaper clippings, Edwin Mims: Sidney Lanier, W. M. Baskerville: Sidney Lanier, William Hayes Ward: Memorial, Articles in *The Methodist Review*, *International Monthly*, Lippincott's, *University of the South's Pathfinder*, *The American Scholar*, Tributes from Richard Le Gallienne, Morgan Calloway, Charles W. Hubner, President Gilman, Letters and pamphlets from the National Lanier Centennial committee.

E. H. M.

SOME POPULATION AND AGRICULTURAL TRENDS IN THE ALABAMA BLACK BELT, 1880-1930

By Glenn Nolen Sisk

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Introductory Note

The question of what happens to a plantation area after abolition of slavery or after the staple to which the area has been devoted ceases to be profitable is one which interests both historians and social scientists. The case treated here is not offered as typical, but as one unique example of such an area which is apparently finding a way out of its dilemma, however unsatisfactory that way may prove to be in some respects. The trends discussed here are intended to be indicative of a transition, rather than an exhaustive study of the economic life of the region. G. N. S.

Crossing Alabama from east to west just south of the middle of the state lies a crescent-shaped belt of prairie land known as the Black Belt. The underlying bed of Selma chalk or rotten limestone mixing at the surface with vegetable matter has given to the area its characteristic feature of black prairie soil alternating in eroded sections with white limestone streaks. The black Houston prairie type is not the only variety of soil found in the region, and in more recent years erosion and general soil deterioration have reduced much of it to the Summer and other types of soil of a lighter shade and less fertility. It is still a moot question as to whether the name of the area came from the color of the soil, or because of the heavy negro population.¹

The counties in which this belt largely falls are Sumter, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Perry, Dallas, Lowndes, Montgomery, Macon, and Bullock.² Another county, Wilcox, is so closely associated with the belt through the Alabama River valley, which flows directly from the Black Belt into the county, as to be considered a part of the Belt itself. Much of the land area of these counties falls outside the prairie belt, but Black Belt economy has to a large extent influenced the surrounding areas, especially since the towns in which Black Belt planters lived grew up on the outer edge of the prairie belt.

In the thirty years between 1830 and 1860 the Black Belt became one of the chief sections of the state devoted to the raising of cotton on large plantations with slave labor. Much wealth was concentrated there, and the mores associated with the planter class became a part of the life of the Black Belt. Yet there has no doubt been much exaggeration of the idea that slave-holders with large plantations occupied the Black Belt, while poor whites settled in the pine-barrens and sterile hills surrounding it. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the Black Belt were farmers with small holdings and few slaves.³ Neither was the section old enough in 1860 to have developed aristocratic attitudes as widely spread as those found on the eastern seaboard. The area still possessed a strong pioneer flavor when the Civil War came.⁴

Escaping the immediate ravages of invading armies in the beginning of the war period, the Black Belt was invaded in 1865, and thereafter suffered severely from the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction.⁵ John T. Milner, Alabama industrialist, gave a picture of the Black Belt while it was still suffering from the immediate effects of the War:

¹The approximate ratio of negroes to whites was three and one-half negroes per each white person in 1880, four in 1900, and two and one-half in 1930.

²It should be noted that the area of these counties was somewhat different after 1880 from the area they occupied in the ante-bellum period.

³F. L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late ante-Bellum South", *The Journal of Southern History*, February 1940, pp. 25-45.

⁴F. L. Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, Vol. 1, pp. 276-77.

⁵W. I. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 125.

Want and gaunt, haggard despair have prevailed everywhere in the Black Belt since 1867. A sadly dark cloud settled then over this part of Alabama, and from that time until now (1873) this section continued to grow poorer.

. . . Whilst houses, fences, and everything have gone to ruin and decay, the poor farmer can only get advances to make cotton. These advances all come from the class of non-producers, and are made for the purpose of keeping their commissions and other business alive, and not for the benefit of the producer. If this business of advancing on cotton should stop in the Black Belt for one year, all farming would cease. . . . Something must be done, and that soon. Either the army of non-producers must break ranks and fall to the ground and go into the fields, or somebody must starve in Alabama.

The country looks now as if it had just passed through the shackles of . . . No fences, no hogs, no cattle, no agriculture, no nothing. . . . Bald, barren, uncultivated, and washed spots are seen everywhere . . . The large farmers are broke everywhere. Not one in a hundred makes a crop now without mortgaging for his year's support and supplies. Farm after farm, acre after acre, is eaten up in this way until now it is hard to ascertain to whom the land in Alabama really belongs . . . ⁶

The reorganization of agriculture after the Civil War had the following immediate results: First, there arose a system of share-cropping and tenant farming as the basis for cotton production. Second, the effects of the destruction of the old system were felt in the growing decadence of the planting class and the rise of a class of merchants to take its place. Third, the decline of the Black Belt as the center of cotton production shifted that center to the uplands by 1880 and brought the yeoman white farmers into the economic limelight.⁷

Emancipation of slaves left on Black Belt lands a negro laboring population, which has tended to remain as share-croppers and tenants, and few white laborers, tenants, or independent farmers have come into the region.⁸

⁶Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama*, pp. 269-70.

⁷H. M. Bond, *Social and Economic Factors in the Public Education of Negroes in Alabama, 1865-1930*, p. 125.

⁸W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 719.

Four factors have played the leading roles in Black Belt economy since the days of Reconstruction. These are cotton, cattle, the negro population, and the growing urban centers outside the Belt. The role which these factors played from 1880 to 1900 was somewhat different from the role they have played since 1900. Therefore, they should be considered in at least two different periods.

The period from 1880 to 1900 was one of recovery from the Civil War and Reconstruction. Cotton produced in the Belt rose from 259,748 bales in 1880 to 353,428 in 1890, to 366,841 in 1900. Corn, cattle, and other farm products followed more moderate, although equally steady trends upward in those years. Negro population increased rapidly, and white population, after a small decline in the 1880-90 decade, also increased between 1890 and 1900.⁹

In the period from 1900 to 1920 three significant trends occurred: First, cotton production fell off sharply; second, negro population declined from a 329,786 peak in 1900 to 323,860 in 1910 and 275,156 in 1920; third, cattle production increased steadily.

Cotton production in the portion of the state outside of the Black Belt continued to increase until 1910, but a sharp decline occurred in the decade, 1910-1920, probably due to the boll weevil. In the Black Belt, production dropped from 366,841 bales in 1900 to 91,684 bales in 1920. Two factors in this decline were the boll weevil and growing competition from regions of greater productive capacity and more favorable marketing conditions.¹¹

Along with this decline in cotton production came the development of the mining and steel industries in the Birmingham and north Alabama areas. The extent to which the Black Belt was losing its economic prestige to the mineral section of the state even before 1900 is at least indicated by the amount of state taxes paid. The percentage of state taxes paid by ten Black Belt counties between 1870 and 1930 were as follows: 1870, 34.6%; 1880, 28.1; 1890, 21.3; 1900, 21.6; 1910, 15.9; 1920, 13.6; and 1930, 11.3.

⁹Statistics from Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Censuses of the United States.

¹¹H. M. Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

The percentage for the mineral region, consisting of the three counties of Winston, Walker, and Jefferson (including the city of Birmingham) were as follows: 1870, 1.7%; 1880, 3.3; 1890, 17.9; 1900, 17.0; 1910, 21.4; 1920, 26.6; 1930, 31.8. The relative wealth of the two regions in the ante-bellum period is indicated by the Black Belt's percentage in 1852 of 36.7 as against the 0.8 percentage of the mineral region.¹² Although the Black Belt was never a manufacturing center, the value of the products of such manufacturing enterprises as it possessed was becoming with each census year from 1880 to 1930 a smaller percentage of the value of such products for the entire state.¹³ This is indicative of the rising manufacturing in the mineral region, rather than of any decline in the Black Belt.

This leads to the second significant trend, which concerns the loss of negro population. The Black Belt's negro population was gradually awakening to the economic opportunities in the rapidly growing industrial centers of the state and in the North. Birmingham, in particular, became a place of refuge for the poverty-haunted children of ex-slaves. In the iron and steel industries the percentage of negroes employed rose steadily after the entry of the United States Steel Corporation to the state in 1907, for it was the policy of the new company to employ negroes not only for unskilled but for skilled labor.¹⁴ The proportion of negro iron molders in Alabama rose from 10 to 24 per cent of the total between 1910 and 1920.¹⁵ In 1918 70 per cent of the labor force of the ore mines in Alabama and from 40 to 50 per cent of the workers in steel plants were negroes.¹⁶ In 1923 negroes constituted 52.7 per cent of all the miners of Alabama.¹⁷ Between 1900 and 1930 the negro population nearly tripled in the mineral region consisting of Winston, Walker, and Jefferson Counties, including the city of Birmingham.¹⁸

¹²Annual Reports of the Auditor of the State of Alabama, 1852, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930.

¹³From data compiled from the federal census, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1920, 1930. County figures were not available for 1910.

¹⁴Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹⁵Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 214, 354.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁸H. M. Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

Seventy-one and six-tenths per cent of all negroes in the state were reported as living in rural communities in 1930 as against 89.1 per cent in 1900. The migration of negroes from the Black Belt continued in spite of the presence there of two of the larger cities of the state, Montgomery and Selma. The prairie section was receiving the reflex action of the combined industrialization-urbanization process taking place in other sections of the state.

A very important phase of the negro migration was that to cities of the North. The negro exodus reached its peak about 1916, when a combination of boll weevil, poor crops, and greater economic opportunities in other sections of the country induced negroes to leave the South by trainloads, bound for the North and West, where there was hope of employment.¹⁹ With the exception of a drop during the post-war depression, migrations continued during the first half of the decade of the twenties.

The third fundamental development in Black Belt economy has been at least partially a result of the first two. The boll weevil, poor cotton prices, declining fertility of Black Belt soil, and inefficiency of tenant labor have caused planters to turn increasingly to cattle raising as a source of cash income. Markets set up within the area have accentuated the trend toward beef cattle, and dairying in some sections of the Belt has become an important industry. Although evident at a much earlier period, the first World War accelerated this tendency. This change in economy may be both a cause and a result of negro migration.²⁰

The late twenties saw a tendency toward reversal of the trends mentioned above. The exodus of negroes became less marked, cattle production in 1930 was less than in 1920, while cotton production in 1930 was 102,535 bales greater than in 1920, when the effect of the boll weevil was unusually strong.

With recovery from the depression of the early thirties, however, a resumption of the general trends here discussed has taken place. Although still the seat of the heaviest negro tenancy in

¹⁹E. J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, pp. 63-64, 81.

²⁰George C. Stoney, "No Room in Green Pastures", *Survey Graphic*, January, 1941, pp. 14-20.

the state,²¹ the Black Belt is turning its plantations more and more into ranches, while other sections of Alabama once inhabited largely by non-slaveholding whites have become centers of wealth and culture.

Yet one cannot live today in Alabama's Black Belt without feeling something of the refinement of manners, cultured bearing, contempt for manual labor, and attitude of social superiority reminiscent of the Old South. It is one of the few regions where still survive remnants of the way of life and thought so fondly cherished in ante-bellum days.²²

²¹Alabama State Planning Commission, *Program and Work Plan for Black Belt Soil Conservation District*, p. 12; *Program and Work Plan for Central Alabama Soil Conservation District*, p. 12.

²² Renwick C. Kennedy, "Black Belt Aristocrats, The Old South Lives on in Alabama's Black Belt", in *Social Forces*, Vol. XIII (October, 1934), pp. 80-85.

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UNIVERSITY CADET CORPS

(In June, 1903, correspondence was conducted between Mr. E. N. C. Snow, of Tuscaloosa and Dr. James T. Murfee, Commandant, Alabama Corps of Cadets at the University, 1862-1865 with the view of establishing the fact that the University cadets were in action as Confederates during the war period. The inquiry was made not only with a view to establishing an historical fact but also probably in the interest of securing such honors and benefits as the State was bestowing upon its Confederate veterans. Many of the students did not remain at the University to get their diplomas but this recognition was given them by their Alma Mater at a later date. The law also required proof of Confederate service before pensions could be granted to claimants.

Mr. Snow entered the University in 1864 as a cadet on the staff of Col. Murfee of Liddell's Brigade, C. S. Army and was later 1st Lieutenant, Company B, of that same outfit. At the end of the War Between the States he resumed his studies at the University where he graduated and became a successful merchant in his native city, Tuscaloosa. He had other business and civic connections and was highly esteemed as a man and citizen. Col. Murfee, a native of Virginia and distinguished educator both in Alabama and his native State was a professor of mathematics at the University of Alabama from 1860 to 1862 and from the latter date to the end of the war was Commandant of the Cadets with the rank of Colonel of the Alabama troops. He entered the active service in 1863 as a Lieutenant-Colonel of the 41st Alabama Regiment and participated in the engagement which took place at Tuscaloosa, April 3, 1865 as Commander of the State Cadets. In 1871 he became President of Howard College which was then located at Marion but later removed to Birmingham. In 1887 he founded the Marion Military Institute and after his death his son, the late Hobson Owen Murfee succeeded him as President. Later another son, Col. Walter Lee Murfee became President.)

24 June 1903

Mr. E. N. C. Snow,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 23 came this morning: and I take pleasure in numbering your questions and in putting the answers after each:

- (1) Were you in command of the Alabama Corps of Cadets during the Civil War?

Yes.

- (2) In your judgment was that Corps in the service of the Confederate States?

Yes: from the beginning of the Civil War until the end.

- (3) Were their services in the field more than once offered to President Davis by Col. L. C. Garland?

Col. L. C. Garland was president of the University of Alabama and Commander-in-chief of the Alabama Corps of Cadets. He went to Richmond every year to tender the services of the Corps in the field to President Davis. President Davis persistently declined to take the corps of cadets from their camp of instructions at Tuscaloosa, where drill masters and officers were being prepared for the Confederate army. President Davis said that the services at Tuscaloosa, in training officers for the army, and in readiness to meet any raid into the state, were far more important to the Confederacy than service in a body in the field.

- (4) Were the cadets not sent out in detachments, on several occasions, to drill troops and when sent did they render acceptable service to the Confederate Army?

Yes: this was the service that President Davis regarded as so important; for these detachments of instructors taught and disciplined all the Alabama troops and when the regiments were ready for the field, cadets went with them to fill offices to which they had been elected by the troops, serving as adjutants, captains, lieutenants, and sergeants; and one (Sanders) rose to the rank of general.

- (5) During the summer of 1864 was not the Corps of Cadets ordered into regular service, and did they not as a part of Liddell's brigade, render efficient service at Blue Mountain, at Pollard, and at Blakely?

Yes: they served in Liddell's brigade, received rations and transportation from the Confederate government just as other Confederate troops. And when the corps was ordered back to Tuscaloosa for instruction in the fall of 1864, one company remained in the brigade and did heroic service in the engagement at Blakely in 1865.

- (6) Was the Corps not under fire on several occasions, and did the cadets, to your knowledge, ever show any other spirit than one of bravery and patriotism?

Yes, they were under fire on several occasions; and their discharge of duty in camp and their bravery on the field of battle was conspicuous and received the praises of the Confederates and the Federals whom they opposed.

- (7) During this term of service did you regard the Corps of Cadet as State troops or as a part of the Army of the Confederate States?

They were not only State troops but they were apart of the Army of the Confederacy, being the order of President Davis given through the governor of Alabama.

- (8) In the spring of 1865 on the 4 of April during the defense of Tuscaloosa, on the occasion of Croxton's raid, did not the corps stand fire well and were not several of their number wounded in that fight? and were not several of the Federal soldiers killed and wounded?

Before the coming of Croxton's raid to Tuscaloosa, Maj. Hardcastle, a native of New Jersey, and in the service of the Confederate states, was made commandant of the post at Tuscaloosa; and by virtue of Hardcastle's office and the relation of the corps of cadets to the Confederate Government, the corps of cadets constituted a part of his command and obeyed his orders. As soon as I heard that the raiders had entered Alabama, I supposed that they would approach Tuscaloosa from the north side of the Warrior river. Hence I earnestly petitioned Maj. Hardcastle to allow the corps of cadets to defend the bridge. He persistently refused, and ordered us to picket the Huntsville road east of the university and the town, saying

that the enemy would approach that way in his opinion. The only guard he put at the bridge was a squad of five or six composed of boys and old men; and put them in charge of the only piece of artillery we had, and which he had borrowed from us. About one o'clock on the night of April the third, or rather the morning of the fourth, a friend on a horse rode rapidly to the university and informed us that the federals had possession of the town in large force. Notwithstanding the disparity in numbers and armament, the corps of cadets was formed within a few minutes, double-quickened to town, the distance of a mile, and drove the Federals out after an engagement in which several cadets and Captain J. H. Murfee were wounded. It was reported to us afterwards that three or four federals were killed in the engagement. After holding the Federals at the river crossing for some time, and learning from a paroled prisoner that it would be impossible for us to hold our position after daylight because the Federals were 2,000 strong and armed with repeating rifles, we retired to the university, secured knapsacks and provisions, and took up position three miles from the university on the east side of hurricane creek, determined to defend that line should the federals approach. The following night we began our march to Marion where we expected to meet Forrest's command. After remaining in Marion a few days, we learned of the disaster to the Confederate Army and the cadets were furloughed to return home, each carrying his arms with him.

The foregoing statements show that every member of the Alabama Corps of Cadets was a Confederate soldier, displaying the highest virtue in camp and in field; and therefore every one is entitled to all the honor of such soldiers, and their descendants to a share in their glory.

Your friend sincerely

James T. Murfee,
Comdt. Ala. Corps Cadets
1862 - 1865

THE PART INDIANS PLAYED IN THE CONFEDERACY

By Mrs. Elliott M. Buchanan,
Chattanooga, Tenn.

(This article was one of a number on the subject written by members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy throughout the country in response to a request by the Editor of this magazine with the offer of a history of Alabama as a prize for the best essay. The essay by Mrs. Buchanan was chosen by a committee appointed by the President of the General U. D. C., as the best of a number submitted.)

For four hundred years the question has been—"From whence came the Indian?" The Indians were without a written history. The males of the Creeks from Georgia and Alabama, Cherokees from Tennessee and Georgia Seminoles from Florida, Choctaws, and Chickasaws from Alabama and Mississippi and confederate tribes of the Creeks are tall, erect, and moderately robust. They will endure a great many misfortunes, losses and disappointments without showing themselves, in the least, vexed or uneasy. If they are taken captives or expect a miserable exit, they sing; if death approaches them in sickness, they are not afraid of it.

The Chickasaws were the most active and warlike tribe of the great Muskogean Indian stock; a branch of the Choctaws. In the War Between the States, they joined the Confederate side; lost about one fourth of their people and were liable to the penalties of treason. By the treaty of Fort Smith, September 1865, they were conditionally restored to their rights.

The Chickasaws showed personal bravery and unconquerable spirit and almost endless endurance.

The Choctaws, one of the largest tribes of the great Muskogean stock and before its deportation was the most advanced in general culture of any except the Creeks. Like all the southern tribes they were slave holders and in 1860 had some 5,000 negro slaves. Their Superintendent and agents were Southerners and they joined the Confederate side of the war between the States. Their population was reduced by one third; and after the war, they

were for a time deprived of their rights.

The Creeks, a once powerful confederacy of Gulf Indians, the strongest Indian power south of New York except the Cherokees. They occupied a large part of Georgia and Alabama and formed the largest section of the Muskogean stock. In 1836 some of the Creeks joined the United States forces against the Seminoles but others began raiding Georgia and Alabama villages. General Scott reduced them and the government at once began deporting them to Arkansas. The government tried to Christianize and civilize them, but they finally refused either missionaries or schools. In the War Between the States they divided.

The Seminole Indians an important tribe of the Muskogean stock of American Indians. The Seminoles (wanderers) of Florida had broken away from the Creeks, left the main body 1762-68, and removed to the peninsula of Florida where they have resided since the 16th. century. The Seminoles are known to history chiefly through their two wars with the United States—the first 1817-1818, provoked by the upper Creeks, and other 1835-42, the bloodiest and most furiously contested struggle with Indians in which the Government has ever engaged, resulted from the refusal of a part of the Indians to remove to the Indian Territory under the provisions of a treaty agreed to by them in 1834.

From the earliest dates at which we hear of the Chickasaws succeeding the settlements made on the Atlantic coast westward by various European nations, the Chickasaws were firm friends of the English. On the other hand the Choctaws and Creeks favored first the Spaniards and then the French.

The first treaty between the United States and the Cherokees was made at Hopewell on the Keoner River on November 28, 1775, between a group of men of the United States and the Headmen and Warriors of all the Cherokees. The commissioners were men of the southern part of the Republic.

The Keetowha society was originated among the Cherokees by Reverends Evan and John B. Jones in 1859. It is a secret society for the fuller development of the noble qualities of individualism. It has always been especially active in upbuilding the religious and patriotic instincts of its members and is the only

lodge in the United States whose principal emblem is the United States flag. During the War Between the States its insignia was a couple of pins crossed on the left coat lapel and for that reason its members were known as "Pin Indians."

The failure of the United States government to afford to the Southern Indians the protection solemnly guaranteed by the treaty stipulations had been the greatest cause of their entering into an alliance with the Confederacy.

Veterans of the Confederate service who saw action along the Missouri-Arkansas frontier have frequently complained that military operations in and around Virginia during the War Between the States receive historically so much attention that as a consequence, the steady, stubborn fighting west of the Mississippi River is either totally ignored or at best, lost in dim obscurity. There is much of truth in the criticism but it applies in fullest measure only when the Indians are taken into account; for no accredited history of the American War Between the States that has yet appeared has adequately recognized certain rather interesting facts connected with the period of frontier development; viz;—that Indians fought on both sides in the great sectional struggle; that they were moved to fight not by instincts of savagery, but by identically the same motives and impulses as the white man and in the final outcome they suffered even more terribly than did the whites.

The Cherokees had, under the necessities of the situation, divided themselves into the Ross or Anti-removal Party, and the Ridge or Treaty Party. After the murder of John Ridge, from whom the party took its name, his nephew, Stand Watie¹ became its leader. He figured conspicuously on the Southern side in the War Between the States. Early in 1861, Stand Watie, Cherokee Chief of the Ridge faction, organized a company to cooperate with the Confederacy and was made its captain. Other companies having been formed they met near Fort Wayne on July 12, 1861, and formed the Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment and elected officers. Removal took place in spite of the steady opposition of the Rossites and the Cherokees went west, piloted by the United States Army.

¹See sketch following this essay.

For the participation of the southern Indians in the American War Between the States the state of Texas and Arkansas were more than measurably responsible. Governor Rector of Arkansas wrote Chief Ross on January 29, 1861, requesting the cooperation of the Cherokees with the Confederacy to which Chief Ross answered avowing neutrality. The Chief by letters of later dates and in a proclamation, reiterated his stand for this principle. Stand Watie the political opponent of Chief Ross organized his regiment and shortly afterwards the Chief called a general convention of the Cherokees to meet at Tahequah on August 21st. In keeping with the sentiment the Chief wrote General McCollough that "We are authorized to form an alliance with the Confederate States which we are determined to do as early as practicable. This determination may give rise to movements against the Cherokee people upon their northern border. To be prepared for any such emergency, we have deemed it prudent to proceed to organize a regiment of mountd men and tender for service. They will be raised forthwith by Colonl John Drew and if received by you will require to be armed." Chief Ross then appointed for Drew's regiment. A treaty was concluded at Hunter's House the residence of George M. Murrell on October 7, 1861, between the Confederate States and the Cherokee nation and two days later Chief Ross delivered his message to the national council. In part he said; "Events have occurred that will occupy a prominent place in the history of the world. The United States have been dissolved and two governments now exist. The States composing the late Union has erected themselves into a government under the style of the Confederate States of America and as you know we are now engaged in a war for their independence. The unanimity and devotion of the people of the Confederate States must sooner or later secure their success over all opposition and result in the establishment of their independence and a recognition of it by the other nations of the earth. Our geographical position and domestic institutions allies us to the south, the war waged against the Confederate States clearly pointed out the path of our interest". This policy was adopted by the Cherokee nation. Messengers dispatched to General Albert Pike, the distinguished Indian Commissioner of the Confederate States, who established relations between his government and other Indians in the southwest, proposing on behalf of the nation to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Confederate States. Major N. B. Pearce was made chief commissary of subsistance for Indian Territory and Western Arkansas; Major G. N.

Clarke Depot Quarter-Master. In the sequel of events, both appointments came to have significance rather unusual. The site chosen for this department headquarters was not far from Fort Gibson. The fortifications erected there received the name of Cantonment Davis.

Pike's great purpose and perhaps it could with no exaggeration be said his only purpose throughout the full extent of his active connection with the Confederacy was to save to that Confederacy the Indian Territory.

The dispersion of Colonel John Drew's Cherokees, when about to attack Opoeth-le-yo-ho-la, forced a slight reorganization and that, taken in connection with the assertions to the command that came in the interval before the Pea Ridge campaign, brought the force approximately to four regiments, two battalions, and some detached companies. The four regiments were: the First Regiment Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles under Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, the First Creek Regiment under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, the First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles under Colonel John Drew and the Second Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles under Colonel Stand Watie. The battalions were the Choctaw and Chickasaw and the Creek and Seminole, the latter under Lieutenant-Colonel Chilly McIntosh and Major John Jumper.

Major-General Earl Van Dorn formally assumed command of the newly created Trans-Mississippi District of Department No. 2—January 29, 1861. He was at Little Rock, Arkansas. By February 6th. he had moved up to Jacksonport. His call for troops was being promptly answered, requisition having been made upon all the state units within the district—Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. Indian Territory through Pike and his subordinates was yet to be communicated with; but General Van Dorn had no other plan for Indian troops than to use them to advantage as a means of defense and as a corps of observation. He wanted to protect Arkansas against invasion. To relieve Missouri, he planned "to attempt St. Louis," and to drive the Federals out. It was his idea to carry the war into the enemy's country beyond the Ohio. His own schemes and plans were all rendered utterly futile. At Cantonment Davis, a Choctaw and Chickasaw battalion and the First Regiment had been furnished with arms and clothing.

The Battle of Pea Ridge was already fought, March 6-7-8, 1862. It was a three day fight. The real battle was the engagement at Leetown and at Elkhorn Tavern. At Leetown, Pike's Cherokees played a very important part. The Indians then, as always, were chiefly pony-mounted, "entirely undisciplined" and "armed with common rifles and ordinary shot-guns." The Indian's most effective work was done under cover of the woods. Indians, as Pike well knew, could never be induced to face shells in the open and it was without discounting, in the slightest, their innate bravery. He allowed Colonel Drew's men to fight in a way that was thier own fashion "with bow and arrow and with tomahawk." The Indian war-whoop was indulged in, of itself enough to terrify.

The death of McCollough and McIntosh made Pike the ranking officer in his part of the field. Colonel Watie's men under orders from Van Dorn took position on the high ridges where they could watch the movements of the enemy and give timely notice of any attempt to turn the Confederate left flank. Colonel Drew's regiment not receiving word to move forward, remained in the woods near Leetown but finding it deserted, they drew back towards Camp Stephens where they were soon joined by General Cooper with his regiment and battalion of Choctaws and Chickasaws and by two hundred men of Colonel McIntosh's regiment of Creeks. To the very last of the Pea Ridge engagement, Stand Watie's men were active. General Pike gave them permission to fight in their own fashion, specifically to the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles who were for the most part full blooded Indians, who had stipulated that they should be allowed to fight as they knew how. Colonel Waite and his regiment made their way to Camp Stephens. Some two hundred of Watie's Indians were detailed to help take ammunition back to the main army.

As with the war as a whole, so with that part of it waged on the Arkansas frontier; the year 1863 proved critical.

So far as my researches have extended, the Chickasaws were the first of the Indians to take official cognizance of the movement of the secession of the Southern States; for on January 5, 1861, both houses of the Chickasaw legislature passed a joint resolution instructing their Governor, Cyrus Harris, to appoint four commissioners for the Chickasaw nation to meet like commissioners representing Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees and Seminole Indians.

John Ross, the principal chief of the Cherokees, was opposed to a withdrawal from the Union, though at times he aided those who were for secession.

And the Supreme Court says that the hall of Congress furnished the last and only refuge of the Indians for that justice so long denied them.—Will a brighter day dawn for the Indians?

In 1911 the Legislature of the new State of Oklahoma honored itself in the passage of an act to place in the rotunda of the capitol, the Hall of Fame at Washington, D. C., a splended bronze statue of Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, as a famous man from that state. It is a strange thing that no alphabet in all the world reaches the dignity, the simplicity and the value of the Cherokee alphabet as invented by Sequoyoh.

GENERAL STAND WATIE

Cherokee Indian

C. S. A.

By Peter A. Brannon

Stand Watie, whose native name, De gata ya, means two persons standing so close together and united in sympathy as to form but one human body, was born in the Cherokee Nation—that section in what is probably now North Georgia, and was the son of Uweti. He was the brother of Elias Bondinot (native name Galagina) the celebrated Cherokee Indian Missionary and founder of the national paper, *THE CHEROKEE PHENIX*.

After the death of his brother Bondinot, who was murdered by members of his own tribe on June 22, 1839, he assumed the leadership of the minority of the Cherokees who signed the Treaty of Echota, as well as the Ridge Treaty, and went West with the Removal in 1838.

On the outbreak of hostilities in 1861, Stand Watie and his party were among the first to join the South. He was given command of the First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, C.S.A.,¹ organized July 12, 1861 for twelve months and reorganized in 1862 for two years. This regiment participated in the battle of Pea Ridge and in other actions of the Trans Mississippi Army of the Confederacy. Later they were engaged in the Territory with with Confederate sympathizers, in conflicts with the Indians who were on the side of the Union.²

During the summer of 1864 the Indian Territory was organized into a separate military district and Brigadier General Douglas Cooper put in charge. Col. Stand Watie was promoted to Brigadier General and ordered to command the First Indian

¹U. S. Adjutant General's index files in Alabama Dept. Archives and History.

²Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. 2, 1910, p. 634.

Brigade of Park's First Cherokee Regiment and Adair's Second Regiment. On June 23, 1865, General Stand Watie surrendered the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole and Osage troops to the Union authorities. The Choctaws were surrendered by Chief Petchylin and the Chickasaws by Governor Colbert.³

Prior to 1860, in revenge for the death of his brother (Bondi-not) he, singly, burned the home in the West, (Indian Territory) of John Ross, leader of the other faction in the Nation. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who contributed voluntarily to the writings on the American Aboriginies, got much of his Cherokee material from Stand Watie.

Grant Forman says of him:⁴ "Stand Watie had married before his removal to the West. His wife, Betsey, died in childbirth late in March 1836 (Lavender to Ridge May 3, 1836, OIA, Cherokee file). The child died also. Stand Watie emigrated by water in 1837 with the Ridge's and the journal kept by Dr. C. Littlebridge, who accompanied that party mentions his ministering to Mrs. Watie. There was also another wife. The files of the Indian office contain a letter written by K. W. Hargrove of Rome, Georgia, in behalf of Isabelle Watie, wife of Stand Watie from whom he separated when he left for the West. She was formerly the wife of Eli Hicks, by whom she had a child named Henderson Hicks. She afterwards married Stand Watie and when he left her she and her child were in "a destitute situation having been forced out of a comfortable home with the usual means of living, through the cruel policy of the Georgia laws and the ill treatment of her husband," Stand Watie. She had been awarded \$1660 for her improvements and the writer of the letter who was trying to secure it for her learned that the warrant had been sent to the agent for the Cherokee Indians in the West where Stand Watie had gone (Hargrove to Commissioner of Indian affairs, November 1, 1837, OIA.)"

I have not been able to find an account of his death.

³Wright, Muriel H. "Our Oklahoma", Guthrie, 1939, pp. 160-161.

⁴"THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES", Forman, Oklahoma, 1934, p. 294.

SPRUCE McCALL OSBORNE

A Mississippi Territorial Volunteer at Fort Mims

By Peter A. Brannon



DR. SPRUCE M. OSBORNE
Killed at massacre of Ft. Mims, 1813

Doctor Spruce McCall Osborne, born 1785, in Iredell County, North Carolina, was the son of Adlai and Mary (*Lloyd*), Osborne, both of North Carolina and grandson of Colonel Alexander and - - - - (*McWhorter*), Osborne, natives of New Jersey who prior to the Revolution settled in North Carolina. Young Osborne was graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1806. The family records state that he practiced medicine in the Mississippi Territory before he went into the Indian campaign. His name is carried in the "Staff and Commissioned Officers of the Regiment of Territorial Volunteers" where he is shown as a Second Lieutenant.

He is not carried in this list as a Medical Officer though his family record says he was an "Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A." Major Daniel Beasley, commanding at Fort Mims, wrote General Claiborne at Cantonment, Mount Vernon, that he had directed *Doctor* Osborne to send to Doctor Kerr, Surgeon of the First Mississippi Territorial Volunteers, for a few bottles of wine for one of his sick men at Fort Mims.¹

General Ferdinand L. Claiborne, reached Fort Stoddert on Mobile River from the Baton Rouge Territory, on July 28th, 1813,

¹Letter dated Mims Block House, 30th August 1813" (date of Massacre), Daniel Beasley Major, Commanding, to Brigadier General F. L. Claiborne, Cantonement, Mount Vernon. (*Claiborne Mms.* Copy in Alabama State Department of Archives and History).

having been ordered there to quiet the fears of the settlers in the Delta Country of the Eastern Mississippi Territory. He immediately repaired up the hill, out of the swamp, to a cantonment which had been used by the troops stationed at Fort Stoddert since 1806. Here in General Claiborne's correspondence we see the first reference to "Mount Vernon," a site long connected with the Military life of the nation.

Daniel Beasley, lately a citizen of Georgia, a recent settler in the Mississippi Territory, had been commissioned by President James Madison on the 15th of February of 1813,² as a Major of Militia. During the early days of August he was ordered to a new stockade on Boat Yard Lake, built around the home of Sam Mims, an early settler South of Little River, and near the Tensas, to command the place where more than five hundred and fifty men, women and children had gathered, seeking protection from an anticipated attack by the Creek Indians. Major Beasley had improved the stockade and had built another block house or two, but subsequent circumstances indicate that the defenders of the Post were not as careful as they should have been and they did not heed the reports of the slaves that large numbers of Indians were lurking in the neighborhood. About noon August 30th, just as the dinner-drum beat was sounded the Indians attacked the Post and by five P. M. there were less than fifty survivors (only thirty-six were accounted for), of the original group gathered there. Of the number of souls in the Post two hundred and sixty-five were soldiers. A detail from the first Mississippi Territorial Volunteers and a Company of Territorial Militia under Captain Dixon Bailey formed the Armed Guard. The records show that eight of the commissioned officers in the camp, sixty-nine of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and twenty-seven of the local Volunteer Militia were among the slain.

General Claiborne reporting the attack from the Cantonment, Mount Vernon, says among other things:

"Major Beasley fell gallantly fighting at the head of his command near the gate at the commencement of the action. Captain

²A copy of the document is in the Military files of the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

Jack was killed about the close of the scene, having previously received two wounds. Captain Middleton also distinguished himself, having received four or five wounds before he fell. He was active and fought bravely from the commencement of the battle until he died. Lieutenant Spruce M. Osborne of Wilkinson County, after receiving two wounds was taken into a house, but requested to die on the ground that he might as long as possible, see the men fight. The other officers fell nobly doing their duty, and the non-commissioned officers and privates deserve equally well. The action continued until five o'clock in the evening."³

Colonel Albert J. Pickett in his *History of Alabama* gives a detailed account of the Fort Mims attack and quotes several survivors. Among other things he says, "About this time (3 o'clock), Doctor Osborne, the surgeon, was shot through the body and carried into Patrick's Loom House where he expired in great agony."⁴

The miniature from which the sketch which illustrates these notes was made shows Doctor Osborne at the age of twenty-eight. A copy of that portrait medallion is in the collection of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. It was presented by Miss Ella McRae, of Birmingham.

³Letter of General Claiborne dated September 3, 1813, at Cantonment, near Fort Stoddort. Claiborne Manuscripts. Department of Archives and History.

⁴History of Alabama, Owen edition, 1900, P-534.

OTHER DAYS

By Eliza J. Kendrick (Lewis) Walker

(The first part of "Other Days" by Mrs. Walker, accompanied by a charming picture of her as a young woman, was printed in the Summer Issue, 1941, of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*. For the benefit of new readers it should be stated that the original manuscript was written in 1918 for the eyes only of Mrs. Walker's daughter, Anne Kendrick Walker, of Eufaula, who has kindly consented for its publication here. "The Ridge" so frequently referred to in Mrs. Walker's memories refers to Chunnennuggee Ridge, which is located in parts of Bullock, Lowndes and Montgomery Counties, and in antebellum days was inhabited by wealthy planters. It was on that Ridge that the first public flower garden was established in the United States. The Fall and Winter issue of the magazine was combined and devoted entirely to the "Alabama Secession Convention", by David L. Darden, a member of the Department staff, and therefore interrupted the continuity of several articles. The concluding part of Mrs. Walker's memoirs will appear in an early issue following this one.)

I have touched on traditional ground very dear to every true Southerner in what I have written of the Southern cooking of that time. No pen could do it justice, and mine fails even in a bare attempt to describe the delicious dishes, the recipes for which were handed down from one generation to the next, and secretly guarded within the curious mental processes of the treasured negro cooks in the various households. There are many dishes which I am sure cannot be duplicated outside of Dixie, even though the cook book be followed with painstaking care. It was all the more remarkable when the primitive methods of cooking are borne in mind. All of the cooking was done in large open fireplaces in the huge kitchens which, as I have previously written, were built at some distance from the house. From the long iron pot-rack hung the cooking utensils, large and small, as the occasion required, for baking and broiling, the fire ordinarily made of oak logs which produced beautiful coals. The lids of the cooking vessels were lifted with pot hooks, but experienced cooks knew intuitively when the food was done, and provided themselves with long forks for testing it. The smoke-houses held the cured meats, which hung from heavy beams; and the plantation dairies supplied the milk and butter and cottage cheese. Both my mother and my aunt

were famous housekeepers and prided themselves upon having the most accomplished cooks on the Ridge. Their neighbors prided themselves the same way; and the servants thought that their "white folks" were better than the rest of humanity. Everything was brought in steaming, the servants racing from the kitchen with hot biscuits, muffins, waffles and cakes. The typical Southern supper consisted of broiled or smothered chicken, hominy, biscuits, waffles or Sally Lun, followed by the jelatine and cream and cake or other delicacies contributed to the repast. The snowy linen and shining old silver and lovely china made the delicious food doubly appetizing. The cooks always wore the bright bandannas, but the house servants, those who waited on the table, did not wear this picturesque head-dress. They were generally men servants, who had to look sleek, and they took great pride in their personal appearance and in their deportment. Fine manners were the order of the day. The word valet was not used, but every gentleman had his body-guard, and every lady her own maid, who was oftentimes very near her own age. The colored maid always called the young lady whom she attended "young mistus". There was an important servant whose duty it was to fan the flies off the table. Beautiful peacock tails were made into fly-brushes and these gorgeously-colored brushes were waved back and forth above our heads. Occasionally, the young negro would yield to a moment's drowsiness, and the peacock tails would trail a bit too low.

... As I write of those days my mind goes back to the beautiful gardens of my dear aunt, Mrs. Hughes. Many happy hours of my young girlhood were spent in those old gardens, and I have often seen the carriages halted as the passers-by stopped to admire the wealth of flowers. The large grounds were bordered with crepe myrtle trees, and there were well-kept hedges of arbor-vitae. Narcissus, daffodils and jonquils bloomed in great beds, and there must have been millions of roses at the springtime blooming. Added to these were the waxen flowers of the cape jessamine. In this wonderful garden were summer houses over which climbed the running mutli-flora, white and yellow and pink, which hung gracefully over the white lattice. And there were beds and beds of red and white and pink verbenas, and many boxes of beauteous hydrangeas. The head gardner was named Henry, and his pride in the gardens was so personal that he would have been mortified if a straw or leaf was found in some newly-swept garden-path. Beyond the flower gardens was the vegetable domain, where every-

thing that could be grown for the table was cultivated in abundance. I remember the large fig trees, with their variety of blue and white figs, which I reveled in. They were preserved, and bleached by the rays of the sun. The pomegranates weighted the bushes, and burst their skins when ripe. . . . A Southern girl of that period accepted her charming environment as a matter of course. I little thought of the toil and labor that went into the production of the staple things for the household and for the plantation. I played and sang in a beautiful garden; and one of the delights of my childhood was to skip on the cotton bales, whenever I was permitted to get near enough to the gin-house. But how little did I realize the toil involved in bringing the South's most wonderful staple to a state of perfection—from the sowing of the seed to the picking time, and the converting of the raw material into bales for shipment. But, as a child, I have watched the preparation of the soil, the ploughing, the making of the long rows on the broad acres, the planting of the seed which was then covered and left to sprout and grow. Within a few weeks it would be chopped out "to a stand" of two or three stalks and in a few weeks more the plant would begin to develop. Then after the maturing time, it was very interesting to see the bolls bursting, and the beautiful fleecy cotton, as white as snow, covering great fields as far as the eye could reach. Cotton-picking time began in September. The cotton-pickers carried wallets made of bagging, which were hung from their shoulders. They picked right and left, singing as they went, and dropping the cotton into these wallets which were afterwards emptied into huge hamper baskets, these conveying the cotton to the gin-house. This process continued day after day, until all the acres had been gone over, but during all of this period the bolls were still opening and soon the fields were ready to be gone over for the second picking, which went over well into the Fall. On the rich lowlands of my father's plantation the cotton grew over six feet tall, but a cotton-picker could pick as much as two hundred pounds a day. I remember a cotton-picker, a slave-woman, who became so expert she picked three hundred pounds a day. After the ginning, the cotton was packed into bales and hauled to the nearest market. It did not bring anything like the price that it does to day. But the Southern planters prospered, added yearly to their possessions, acquired or inherited more slaves, and re-plenished the earth. They were an opulent class, proud, zealous of their rich traditions, following the paths of their forebears and makers of a civilization which was to go down in

history as the most romantic and chivalrous this country has ever known. In business dealings, the word of a Southern gentleman was all that was necessary . . .

A college girl of over seventy years ago! As I look back to that period of my life the incidents stand out clearer in my mind than do recent occurrences. At the tender age of fourteen my parents decided that I was old enough to be sent away to school and selected the old East Alabama Female College at Tuskegee, of which Henry H. Bacon was president. The first few months of my college life were passed, however, in the home of my father's cousin, David Clopton, who lived in Tuskegee, where he was practicing his profession—law. His mother was Sarah Kendrick, and his father a noted physician of Macon. The younger Clopton had married Martha Ligon, a sister of Lieutenant-Governor Robert Ligon, and a famous beauty.* The Clopton home was like my own home. After school hours, I was always with Cousin David and Cousin "Mat" (an abbreviation of Martha) and my love for them never abated as long as they lived. I can see Cousin David as he walked up the avenue leading to his home. It was a hot climate and he always carried an umbrella to shield him from the sun's scorching rays. I can see his wondrous black eyes and hear his joyous laugh. He was fast making his way to the front, and was soon elected to Congress. He was in the old United States Congress when the Civil War broke over the country, and after Secession was a member of the new Confederate Congress. From an old daguerotype of Cousin "Mat", made at the time of the Clopton's residence in Washington, a newspaper of recent times printed a picture, as one of the four greatest beauties of that time. At the close of the war, the Cloptons took up their residence at Montgomery. They had a charming family, one of the daughters marrying a brother of Sydney Lanier, the poet. . . The last two years of my college life were passed within the limitations of college walls, and there were formed the enduring friendships of my girlhood days. I had many dear classmates, but nearly all have passed away. In my sophomore and junior years I had a

*David Clopton was twice married. The second Mrs. Clopton was Mrs. Virginia Clay, widow of Senator Clement C. Clay and celebrated as a wit and belle. She was the author of a volume of reminiscences—*A Belle of the Fifties*.

friend in the senior class—Lavinia Chilton,* a daughter of the famous Judge William Chilton, of the Alabama bench. She was a neice of the great John T. Morgan, United States Senator from Alabama, and inherited an intellectual endowment of the highest order. Her conversational qualities were unsurpassed, she sang and played, and was most accomplished in every way. I have never forgotten her glorious attributes. There was another dear friend, Lucia Pinckard, whose beauty and charm were so potent that one never wearied of looking at her. And there was a famous trio—Lucia Moore and Molly Beck and Kate Lawler. Kate possessed such sparkling eyes that we called her “diamond-eyed Kate”. She was a great heiress, but was unspoiled. . .

. . . I was graduated at the age of seventeen. My accomplishments, as they were called in those days, consisted of drawing, oil painting, embroidering and French. One had to play the piano to be really considered a lady, and I also played and sang on the guitar. The commencements were great events, the examinations being conducted in public, and were the dread of every college girl. We were seated on the rostrum in the chapel, the judges, in a dignified row, immediately in front, and the chapel thronged with spectators. When a girl's name was called, she knew that her hour had come, and had to rise, advance to the front, while her examination began in whatever textbook was chosen. She must stand through this trial and acquit herself with credit. The blackboard exercises were the most exciting, and there were many brilliant mathematicians and also a few blunderbusses. We had to write in French on the blackboard and answer many hard questions. The preparations for these annual occasions were elaborate. Every girl was eager to see her parents and relatives and for the arrival of her commencement frocks. . . My mother sent my maid to wait on me during the trying period. Her name was Moutus* and she pressed by dresses daily—no girl felt properly dressed if a wrinkle could be seen. Ruffled skirts were not so much worn, but they were all very wide and just escaped the ankle. Rouge was taboo,

*Lavinia Chilton married a Mr. Abercrombie, removed to the West, where her daughter became the wife of Judge Robert Lovett who succeeded Harri-man.

*This was a young slave-woman, purchased by my father at the fabulous price of \$1,000, the record of this transaction being introduced on another page.

but we used just a little "whiting". It has truly been said that it was the day of the marble brow and raven curl. Blond hair was not in favor. We wore rather long earrings. I had a pair of etruscan gold, set with turquoise**. The brooches and bracelets were of massive design, and the chains very long. In college we were required to wear the prescribed uniform, the rules were many and very strict, and letters from our sweethearts never reached us—at least all correspondence of this character was sternly prohibited. I remember an original valentine that reached me, the sender a young man whom I had met only once, a line or two of this missive reading—

When first I saw thee, thy placid face
With all the charms that play about it. . .

. . . A girl of that day usually married young, and I proved no exception to the rule. My engagement to James Cook Lewis, of Columbus, Georgia, was soon announced, and the wedding took place in the dear old home on the Ridge. We were very near the same age. He was a graduate of the University of Georgia, had just come into his inheritance, and lived on a pleasant estate near Columbus, but on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochie River, in Russell County. As a member of the famous Cook family, and although left an orphan at an early age, he had been brought up in the greatest affluence and was not only brilliantly talented, but possessed a singularly handsome physique. . . As a bride of the long ago, I wore the typical white satin, with tight-fitting bodice, short sleeves and long train. My tulle veil was caught back with a long white plume which was arranged to droop as gracefully as the occasion demanded. Kid gloves were the fashion, but no flowers or jewels. The hose was richly embroidered, and the bridal slippers were of white kid. . . I went direct to my husband's estate, welcomed in kindly fashion by the servants who gathered at the gates which opened to receive the new mistress. . .

. . . Not very long before my marriage there had come the most heart-breaking sorrow in the untimely death of my father. One fatal morning he had been called by one of the house-servants to look at a horse—one of a pair of carriage-horses which had been

**These earrings are still in the family.

sent from a neighboring plantation. One of my mother's carriage-horses had died, and my father was trying to find a match for the other horse. As he was examining the strange horse, he received a kick in the breast, and died instantly. My mother, sitting in the hall, through which he had passed but a few moments before, saw him fall to the ground. . . . Widowed under these tragic conditions, I know that no braver or more wonderful woman ever lived, for, one by one, she had given up her beautiful family, while from afar there now came the rumbling of war. My father had long prophesied it. "I shall not live to see war between the South and the North, but it will come," he often said. . . . He sleeps in the old Ridge burial-ground, where a monument marks his resting place. The whole countryside mourned him, neighbors and slaves, and life on the old plantation was never the same. . . . There had lived to maturity but one son—John West Kendrick. He was graduated from Talmadge College, at Milledgeville, Georgia. Sydney Lanier was one of his classmates. My brother, who was younger than I, was admitted to the bar, and practiced in Georgia, where he was married to Sarah Langmaid. Miss Langmaid was the only daughter of Judge and Mrs. Edward Sevey Langmaid, of Sandersville, Georgia. Mrs. Langmaid was Ann Davis Kendrick. The old Langmaid homestead was one of General Sherman's headquarters during the march to the sea. Miss Langmaid was graduated from Weslean Female College, the oldest college for women in America. Seven children were born of the Kendrick-Langmaid union—beautiful daughters and lovely sons.*

I find it easier to write of that period which found the whole South putting on its panoply for the War that was to lay it in waste but which was also to make it immortal. I have lived to see women go out into the world of struggle and to reach the point where they call themselves emancipated. Suffrage for women was not thought of in my day, except by a few radically-inclined of the sex. But I do not think that any phase of the modern woman movement ever approached in intensity the secession movement of the South which was so warmly supported and championed by the women of the South, although having no voice in government. My whole soul was in that great movement. I was what is known as an ardent secessionist. . . . During the

*Four are living.

writing of this narrative I have made a pilgrimage to Philadelphia, where I visited Independence Hall and refreshed my memory with the history of the American Revolution. It seemed to me as if I was standing face to face with the great men who wrote our Constitution. As I stood on the historic spot where our country took its first great stand for liberty I was stirred by the very touch of the emblems about me, and by the thought that a united country made it possible for the South and the North to fight now side by side in France. I found myself saying to my child, as we looked upon those records of our common country, "It was a terrible thing that the South felt it was necessary to leave the Union," but, I added, "She was right. There was nothing else left for her to do. Secession was the only thing". And nothing can ever change my opinion about the right of the South to secede. And as a woman of the Secession period, when political pamphlets derogatory of the South flew faster than propaganda does at the present time, when the debates waxed fiery in Congress, when the cry of "Secession" was raised, no present agitation aroused anything like the zeal for action which imbued the women of the South. . . I have recently sat in the Senate Gallery at Washington, listening to the debates on woman's suffrage. On one side sat the suffragists; on the other sat the antis. Mr. Otts, the private secretary of Senator Bankhead, through whose courtesy we obtained the much-coveted cards of admission, said to me, "I know how you stand on suffrage—you who know and have not forgotten what the South suffered during the reconstruction period". So even the younger generation speak as if they lived at that time, as if the old issues remain despite the war and the way it ended. Sometimes I think that it really never ended. Anyway, this present World War does not seem to me as terrible as our Civil War. . . I remember debates that brought on our War. I did not hear Lincoln, but I did hear Douglas and many others. During that memorable presidential campaign, the result of which was so fatal to the South, Douglas visited Alabama, and spoke at Montgomery. With my husband, I was staying at the old Exchange Hotel, where Douglas and Mrs. Douglas were entertained. I witnessed the great torchlight procession from the windows of the hotel and saw Douglas "egged". I can recall that a man nearest him hastily took out a handkerchief and wiped the eggs off, as they broke against the rather square, short figure of the presidential candidate. Douglas was not at all commanding in appearance, but Mrs. Douglas was a woman of striking personality, tall, and possessed of uncommon dignity. She

held a levee in the stately old parlors. . . The excitement was intense. The slavery question upon which Lincoln's candidacy had turned brought to the South the clear realization that war was impending. For the election of Lincoln meant War. The South was divided on its own candidates. There was Douglas; there was Bell, but I shall not go into politics, although politics have always interested me. The news of the election of Lincoln reached the South on a night that I well remember—the wedding night of a noted Southern belle, Jane Thomas, of Columbus. A brilliant gathering witnessed the wedding in the old Thomas mansion at Columbus, guests from the plantations across the Chattahoochie, and all of Columbus society. William C. Sibley, of Augusta, Georgia, was the fortunate swain, and the marriage was typical of the old South. But in the midst of the gaiety the fateful words, "Lincoln is elected" fell like a pall. Every guest felt what the news foreshadowed for the glorious South, but the Southern spirit leaped into the eyes of the men, and it met the unconquerable spirit of the Southern woman. This spirit was now to be tried in the crucible of war, the clouds gathering unmistakably from that moment on until the first regiment marched beneath the colors of the Confederacy. . . In those days we were singing "Ben Bolt" and the "Bride's Farewell" and "Lilly Dale", and the "Tallahassee Waltz" was considered perfect for dancing. . . It was to give way to the bugle and to the soldier's footstep.

The first company of Alabama volunteers that I saw drilling for war was formed by my husband. It was largely recruited from Russell County. . . From my Confederate album flutters a page, bearing the names of those who were the first to be enrolled.*

*Roll of Members, S.R.G.

D. Ambrose	T. A. Jones	F. P. Richer	W. A. Lester
J. Aaron	Z. R. Kendrick	L. B. Shivers	J. Simpson
W. Amos	M. Lacey	L. S. Thompson	W. Berry
S. J. Bryant	H. Moody	J. F. Tucker	M. Horn
W. R. Brown	W. B. Moore	Jos. Vann	J. Yarbrough
J. Broughton	J. B. Lacey	H. Screws	Alonzoo O'Neal
J. D. Cureton	J. F. Lacey	W. C. Yarbrough	T. J. Long
J. F. Davison	D. J. Murrell	B. A. Yarbrough	H. H. Brown
J. L. Davis	J. F. Parke	J. Stringer	W. E. Jones
J. W. Freeman	J. M. Phillups	M. Warlick	M. Wade
W. B. Griffin	J. C. Pool	Thos. Boon	B. Harris
J. Hunt	A. H. Renfroe	W. Williams	J. C. Lewis
T. A. Johnson	R. Ramsey	J. Lester	
M. J. Jones	W. Rice	R. Warlick	

This list was gradually increased to the required number, and the company entered the service of the Confederacy as the Silver Run Guards. The bond for state arms issued to this company bears dates of November 17, 1860, is for the sum of two thousand dollars, for the payment of which my husband as captain of the company, and the three other officers, were bound, and the arms and accoutrements provided by Reuben T. Thom, Jr., Quarter-Master General of the state, are listed on a fragment of the original bond.** We women of the county looked on at the drilling under the bright flag of our own making, which I well remember was accepted by my husband in behalf of his company. These youthful, untrained volunteers were, like those of to day, put through arduous training, continuous, and my husband's company was one of the twelve which constituted the Third Alabama Regiment. The gallant Henry D. Clayton was elected its commanding officer. Alpheus Baker was made Lieutenant Colonel, and my husband was elected Major of the Regiment. He was, possibly, the youngest officer, being only twenty-one the day following his election. From my collection of old letters I find several of the war period, among them communications from the Colonel of the Regiment to its Major. . . These letters, with others from the State Departments, show the tenor of the times. The first of these communications is from the private secretary of the Governor and calls attention to a technicality in an amended bill regarding the Volunteer Corps of the state. The date of this letter shows that active preparations were going on more than a year before war was declared. The correspondence between my husband and the Quarter-Master General throws an interesting light on the condition of the guns which the volunteer companies were supplied with, and which my husband frankly complained of, his criticism bringing forth a spirited rejoinder from the Quarter-Master's department. The official letters extend to the time when my husband resigned as a commissioned officer in the Third Alabama Regiment for duty at Pensacola, and in personal letters which I now lay bare is revealed that fiery impatience of this able young officer whose views brooked no delay or temporizing. ***

Executive Department
Montgomery, Ala., Mar. 27th 1860.

Capt. J. C. Lewis
Seals Station
Russell Co.
Ala.

Sir :

Your communication of the 24th inst has been received.

As will be seen by the amended Bill, you have not conformed to the provisions of the same. The roll will have to be seen to &c as will be observed. When you apply in the manner provided it will give the Gov. pleasure to commission you as a part of the Volunteer Corps of the State.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt' Serv't

Watkins Phelan
Private Secr'y*

Head Quarters
Quarter Master's Dep't, State of Alabama,
Montgomery, 13th Decem 1860

Sir :

Please inform me by return of Mail if you have received your Arms safely. Report to me the exact number and their condition.

Resp'ly Yours

R T Thom
Q M Gen'l
p WWW

*Original letter appears on the next page; and this plan is followed throughout the war correspondence.

Head Quarters
Quarter Master's Dep't, State of Alabama
Montgomery, Dec 26th 1860

Sir :

Yours saying the Guns have not arrived is to hand, and that you regret the state cannot furnish better Arms, they are arms that come out of the U. S. arsenal, have been subjected to the very severest test by the ordinance Department, and are the Guns the U. S. troops have whiped every one with whom they have come in contact, this I think a pretty good test.

Your guns will be hunted up and sent forward in a day or two. They must have stopped at some station

Respectfully &c

R. T. Thom
Q. M. Gen'l

To J. Cook Lewis,
Cap' S R Guards

Montgomery, May 26th 1860

Dear Sir :

Learning from the executive department of the state that you were about organizing a Co of Volunteers I take the liberty of addressing you relative to Uniforms and accoutrements not furnished by the state. Having many years experience in this department of my business I am prepared to manufacture the new uniforms prescribed by the state as well as any other that may be adopted by your Co. at the lowest rates and the Shortest time. My facilities are such as to enable me to furnish a Co complete in 30 days.

This promptitude has procured for me a larger trade of this character than any other House in the state or South. I can furnish Swords, Epaulettes, Sashes &c &c. on the most reasonable terms—Have on hand samples of Uniforms and can furnish any

information you may need in reference thereto by addressing me at Montgomery. Should you need any information or anything else by addressing me as above and describing near as possible what is wanted, will answer promptly.

I am Dear Sir

Yours Respt'ly

E. Halfman

J. C. Lewis Esq.

Glennville, Ala.
June 8, 1860

Capt. Cook Lewis

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure, in behalf of the Glennville Volunteers, of inviting yourself and Company to meet them here on the 4th of July for the purpose of celebrating that day.

They expect a number of Companies to be here and hope you will accept the invitation & add yours to the number.

Very Respectfully

P. E. Barnett
Sect'y

P.S.—Let us hear from you immediately.

P. E. B.

Clayton Ala
Aug 1, 1860

Capt. J. Cook Lewis

Dear Sir :

Your letter is just at hand & I hasten to reply by this days mail.

In accordance with yr suggestion the 8th Sept & this place are appointed for the meeting of the Commissioned officers of the 3rd Reg of Ala. Vol.

I should have done this sooner, but wrote to the Cols of 1st & 2nd Regts for their plan of organization & have waited to hear from them. With the information we now have I think we will be able to dispatch the matter very quickly.

We are all (nearly) for Breckinridge & Lane here—hope the 3rd Reg is a unit—all military men should be for them.

Excuse the length of this as I want to write to all the companies by to days mail.

Very truly &c

Henry D. Clayton
Col &C

Head Quarters, 3rd Regiment A. V. C.

The companies composing the 3rd Regiment of the Alabama Volunteer Corps will meet at Clayton on the 19th inst for Regimental Parade.

The regiment will be formed 15 minutes before 11 o'clock, near the Female College, and march to the Public Square, where the companies will be dismissed to the charge of their respective com-

pany's officers.

Clayton Nov 13 1860

By order of the Colonel

G. Grey
Adj't

To the
"Silver Run Guards"

Clayton, Sept 11, 1860.

J. Cook Lewis, Major &c.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter is duly at hand.

We had our meeting & adopted a constitution for our Regiment, which I am directed to have printed and distributed at the expense of the Regiment. You will receive it soon.

It was also resolved by our meeting to have an encampment of the Regiment at or near this place on the 22nd Oct next. You must go to work & fix up for it. If you cannot get your arms from the state come with your shotguns again. Don't fail—that will be the most important event in the history of our Regiment.

As to tents I would suggest that you buy the osnaburgs at the Factory in Columbus & have them made at home—that is the way we have done. Your Honorary members or some liberal gentlemen in your county will no doubt contribute to your assistance—(tho' they will not cost more than \$8.00 to the tent.

Lewis, it does seem to me as if there was a **good** time ahead. Let us work, organize, organize, in the hope that if Lincoln is elected the South will resist—if the South submits to his inauguration I propose we then disband. So now we must not fail to all

be present at the encampment. If you cannot have all to suit, you come & let us do the best we can.

Truly Yours

Henry D. Clayton
Col 3 Reg A. V. C.

Seals Station, Jany 10th, 1861

Major Cook Lewis

My Dear Sir:

Governor Moore has issued orders to Colonel Clayton to prepare the 3rd Regiment in proper condition to march at a moments warning. Our destination will doubtless be Pensacola, and we will in all probability receive marching orders in the course of a week. All the companies composing the 3rd Regiment are rapidly recruiting their mark. It is desirable that each company will contain at least eighty men. All is activity with us. . . If the arms which are in your possession are not liked you can have them exchanged for those of the newest & most approved style when we get to Mt. Vernon on the Alabama river, as there are over 20,000 stands there.

Enclosed you will find a letter from Col. Chambers, which will explain about the uniforms which have been adopted by all the companies. You can get all the materials in Columbus. If you haven't time to make up all your uniforms your men could march in citizens dress, and after we arrive at our destination they can be completed. Write me at Glennville that we may know how you are progressing.

Yours in haste,

John F. Treutlen

By order of Lieut Col
Joseph Jones

Clayton 5 61

Maj. J. Cook Lewis,

My dear Sir,

It is impossible for me to convey to you the feelings of regret and mortification with which I read your letter notifying me of your resignation as Major. We had all just made your acquaintance and become attached to you and now it is too bad that you have torn yourself away. I regret that you did not communicate to me your intentions before forwarding your commission to the Governor. Is there no way yet to have it recalled & the matter reconsidered?

If you cannot be induced to reconsider, please deliver your pistols to Dr. Jones of Glennville for me. Colonel Chambers will in all probability be a candidate for your place, if you will persist in declining.

Write to me on the receipt of this, and direct your letter to Montgomery, and I will try to write to you more at length

Truly Your friend

Henry D. Clayton.

Montgomery, Ala., Apr 15th

My dear Lila—*

Here I am in Montgomery again, worrying about those plagued companies. I am almost tempted to give the thing up. But there is still a small hope. They will probably organize at Greenville in a few days & I have just succeeded in getting permission for some companies at Pensacola to unite with those at Greenville to form a Regiment. I leave for the latter place in the morning. The companies at Pensaloca that I allude to are for me. I can tell in a few days how things will go, I have had odds to contend

*An abbreviation of Eliza.

against of immense magnitude. . .

Col Clayton is sitting by me, while I am writing. He is moving on gradually. My dear, I must tell you of the Yankee prisoners, from Corinth, brought here on the boat to day. I went down and saw them brought out. There were three hundred on the St Charles & tonight we expect several hundred more, among whom is Gen't Prestiss, the Federal Gen'l. They look badly and woe-begone. Among them were several little fellows, & when I looked at them I thought of poor P.**—how he would feel marching through a Yankee town, to prison, away from his brothers and friends. Poor boy! He knows very little of the dangers and hardships of this war. The brass buttons and the drums are the things that attracted him, and if I had had control of him, I would have put him in jail in Columbus before he should have gone away. I would not care if he were old enough to know what he was doing & could take care of himself, but I know it is his nature to be imposed upon, & no one is there to resent for him, for all fare alike in this thing. I have seen and tasted enough of it to know his situation better than he does. If I can get this Regiment, I will get Gov. Shorter to make a requisition upon Gov Brown for him and transfer him to ours. I want him with me, so I can make his labors as light upon his as possible. . .

I may have to go to Richmond to attend to that other matter; if I do, you will be apprised of it. . . Dick Powell is here. Jim Jackson, of Aberfoil, is here also. He says the Ridge men stand camp life pretty well. . . I have found my baggage. . . all is right. I hope to see you soon. . . can't hear from you, and don't know where you are nor what you are doing. I don't blame you for not writing, for you don't know where to direct your letters. . . Have everything done the best you can. Love to all. I am, darling,

Your own devoted

Cookie.

**Pierce Lewis, the young brother of Major Lewis, afterward captured

"Camp Johnson"
Auburn May 4th

My dear Lila—

We reached this point yesterday, having bid adieu to Greenville several days ago. We are very pleasantly situated here, decidedly the nicest place that I have seen since I left home. I met Mr. Allison here yesterday & asked him to say to you that the Regiments are here. I saw Alf & his wife also. All the Macon and Ridge men are here. I have not visited their camp yet, but will do so perhaps this evening. . . . Three Regiments are organizing here. A thousand Yankees passed here yesterday, for Macon, Ga. We had a good look at them & talked with them for some time. The two trains which carried them stopped for the down train to pass. I had quite a discussion with a very intelligent man—a prisoner. He said he hoped that after the war was over that we would meet & have a long talk. I told him that I expected to fight him for a long time & "get him" if I could. He said he would do the same by me. He was from Iowa. . . . I saw Smith yesterday & he told me that he had mailed a letter to me from you & that he would return to the Ridge this evening. I will send this by him. We will very likely organize in two or three days & as soon as that is over I will go immediately home. If it does not rain between now and Wednesday & the cars do not run from the Ridge by then, you can send up to Tuskegee on that day & on Thursday I will try to go home. If the cars run from Columbus by Thursday, I prefer them, otherwise I will go to Tuskegee Wednesday, or Thursday. . . . I am with some of the nicest men here in Alabama. I spent the night at Captain Slaton's house. He is a candidate for Major. He deserves it, and will very likely get it. Dowdell, Green & Slaton will probably go through. . . . I think my chances very safe as Chief of the Staff. . . . You must return with me. . . .

Everybody must now enter the service. If you had heard those Yankees talk yesterday, when they said they had no other idea but that they would subdue us. I told them, when we were subdued, no one of us would be here to know it—for all would be dead! I reminded them of their outrages upon our fair women, who had always been, and are still ready to dress their wounds when we take them prisoners. They said they ought to have been

killed . . . that they did not uphold any such acts. I can tell you all the conversation when I reach you, which I am very anxious to do. . . . I hope your dream may never come to pass, **my own precious dear**. Don't dream any more like that. . . Love to all.

Your own devoted

Cookie

To this collection of war letters I shall add the last message penned by my husband. It was written in pencil, on the reverse side of a letter from Fanny Billups, and post-marked Columbus, Mississippi, where Colonel Lewis was stationed with his Regiment. It was dated June 24, 1862. At his headquarters, he had been stricken with fever, but had made an effort to reach the home of his kinsman, Colonel Billups, one of the very prominent men of that town. Fanny Billup's letter told of my husband's arrival at the old Billups home, "very much fatigued, for he had been riding in the hot sun, until he really needed rest. We prevailed on him to remain with us, until he was well rested and well, for we found that he was having slight fever every evening."

. . . "To day he is weak, but wished to write to you, as he was too ill to do so on Sunday, as he had promised you by telegraph. . . I write to you myself, so that he can be quiet. He says that he will write you a long letter in a day or two himself. You must not suffer yourself to be uneasy—for we consider him a great deal better. Col Dowdell came to see him this morning and thinks that he will be well very soon. . . Now, don't let your imagination make you uneasy—for if you knew me, you would soon find out that I am a very candid woman, and would not deceive you. . . . And he will write to you himself in a day or two—and if he does not write I will—so farewell, dear Cousin. . ."

On the sheet of pale blue paper, Fanny Billup's reassuring words are still easily traceable, and the penciled words from my husband, written on the reverse side, with a hand that must have been very weak despite the comforting message, are still decipherable . . .

"My darling,

. . . I am getting along just as well as I could—will be up in a day or two. A great many are ill, but not seriously. I could not be better situated under the circumstances. . . I slept all day. Am well cared for, in no danger in the world, so don't be distressed. . . . Telegraph will be resorted to when I get low down. . . I will write again very soon. . . ."

The letter had scarcely reached me; due to the slow transmission of the mails, when just about twilight I heard the clatter of a horseman. Instinctively I knew that the mission of that rider would be over when he saw me. The telegram that he placed in my hand had been relayed from Columbus, Georgia, a trusted servant in the family of Uncle James Cook bringing it a distance of fifty miles. . . he had ridden all day. . . .

By slow transportation, by carriage and train, I was able to make my way to my husband's bedside. . . . Three days later, a guard of honor took my place by the plain pine coffin—crossed with a victor's palms beside a soldier's accoutrements.

Among my war-time letters is this faded missive to my young sister, Margaret Matilda Kendrick, who, too, played her part in the romance of that hour. She was in the heyday of her youth, but her wedding was never consummated. Death came before peace was again established in the land.* This letter is dated at Manassas, in the memorable Winter of 1861. The soldier-writer, a young Georgian, lived to return unharmed from the Virginia battlefields, only to meet a tragic death just after the war.**

Manassas Junction—
Nov. 29th 1861.

Dear Mittie,

I was agreeably disappointed on yesterday when a friend of

*Matilda Kendrick's dying moments were marked by unearthly beauty. Before taking leave of her family, gathered at her bedside, she sang her favorite hymn: Jesus, lover of my soul.

**The original letter was found in an old chest, under the burning ruins of my old home.

mine handed me a letter the handwriting of which I immediately recognized as yours ;

You remained silent so long that I despaired of ever hearing from you again. I replied to John's letter last week, and on a persual of it you may learn something of my feelings at that time ; I know your sad feelings is somewhat of palliation for your neglect, but nothing should have made you disregardless of my feelings and indifferent to what I conceive to have been your duty. But I am far away from my friends, and it may be my fate never to see them again on earth, and under these circumstances I feel little incline to censure or to quarrel.—

I find the climate of Virginia quite cold and disagreeable, nearly all the while our camp is half shoe deep in mud. So you can imagine what a time we have of it. You would be surprised, however, to see how well I am looking. My friends tell me I am looking better than I have for a long while. One of my old College friends stationed at Centerville paid me a visit a few days ago and I learned from him that McCaw Weems and some others you know are station at that point.—

Gen Johnson is expected to be attacked every day. I have great confidence in the skill of our General, and in the patriotism and valor of our Volunteers and should we have an engagement think our armies will be crowned with success.

I visited the battle field of Manassas some days ago, and found much to interest me. I saw the house the old woman was killed in, the place where Sherman's battery was taken, and several others.

A marble pillow marks the spot where brave Bartow fell, and has inscribed upon it the last words of the dying hero. May it long stand in that barren old field, and may coming generations when they visit the spot be inspired with a holy devotion to the cause of liberty, and strive to emulate the example of one of its brightest champions.—

Well! perhaps you would like to know my opinion as to when this war will close. I do not think it will last much longer than next Spring, and should England resent the insult shown to the

British Government in the arrest of Slidell and Mason it will terminate at an earlier period.

I would like very much to see you.

If Gen Beauregard will grant me a furlough, perhaps I will visit home in January. It is reported in Camps that John and Miss Sallie Langsmasil are married and if not, they will be before a great while. I heard from mother and Sister day before yesterday. They were very well. Remember me very kindly to all the family, and write soon and often.

Your Affectionate

Bob.

Direct your letter to Manassas Junction In care of Col. Warthen
28 Reg Ga. Vol.

. . . And now the South was invaded. Hardly a young man was left; the women and the children were alone with their only protectors—their negro slaves. My only brother, John West, had early entered the army, and had arisen to be Inspector-General of Anderson's Brigade, Smith's Division of Hardie's Corps. He had enlisted in Georgia, and remained in the Army until he was paroled at Macon, in June 1865. He was captured during Sherman's march to the sea, and his escape forms a thrilling chapter in the history of the Confederate War. He had been reconnoitering, and considered himself sufficiently safe from the Yankee Army whose passage through Georgia, with Sherman at his height of victory, caused it to be said that a crow, flying for days, would not have found a grain of corn. Coming suddenly to a turn in the road, my brother on his faithful horse, saw that he was riding straight towards one of the enemy's detachments. "The Bluecoats!" he said under his breath as he continued riding and a few paces ahead meeting a group of Yankee horsemen. He had made no effort to protect himself, but had slipped his watch and chain into his riding boots. My mother had given him this watch on the day of his graduation. And now the word—"Halt"! from a Bluecoat. The young Confederate officer was forced to dismount and to walk the rest of the way as a prisoner of the Northern Army. On reaching the Federal camp, he joined the other prisoners, and from that

point we heard of his capture. . . . Back in the old home on the Ridge, my mother walked the floor night after night. We felt that he must be near his home in Georgia, where his young wife was waiting news of him, but daily we expected to hear that he had been sent to Andersonville. . . . With blistered feet, my brother fared as an ordinary prisoner of war, tramping the rough roads, while his guard rode. It was while marching along with the other prisoners that he overheard a great stalwart young Irishman remark that he knew every step of the route over which the Federal Army was now passing. As soon as an opportunity presented itself, my brother spoke to the Irish soldier. "You are the man I am looking for", he told him, as a plan of escape began forming in his mind. To prevent suspicion, as they walked along and talked, they picked up a hog's head, which they found in the road, one of the usual signs of destruction by the Sherman forces, and stringing it on a stick, carried it between them. By the time they struck camp that night, their plan was well formed. The excitement of any army settling down for the night, the throwing out of the picket-lines were auspicious for the first step of their daring move. The two Confederates had managed to fill their haversacks against their day of escape, and now they awaited some signal from each other. It came when my brother developed a sudden thirst for a drink of spring water, and asked for a volunteer to help him find a "spring". The young Irish prisoner quickly took the cue, and offered his services. The guard turned out and followed them. The companion of my brother was familiar enough with the woodlands to decoy the Blue coat further and further away from the main camp. Darkness was falling over the Georgia forests, and still no "spring" could be found. Suddenly there was another signal from my brother, and in an instant, the bayonet was wrenched from the hands of the guard, and the Irishman knocked him down with such a blow that it gave the Confederates time to take to their heels. The guard was evidently not left unconscious, for as soon as he realized what had happened, he began screaming in a voice which my brother said sounded like thunder, "The Rebs are gone! The Rebs are gone!" The Confederates continued running until near the picket lines, where they cautiously stopped to consider what to do next. Across their path lay the body of a large tree, partially concealed by the long fallen leaves and branches, and into this hollow trunk they crawled, covering themselves with the dead branches. The call of the guard had sounded the alarm, and all night the search for them went on.

Footsteps came near them—near enough to hear the curses of those who were making the search. . . For three days and nights they remained in their perilous retreat. In the stillness of the night, when they crept out to rest themselves, they could hear the voices of the pickets. Then, by the strange sounds which reached them, as the army broke camp, they knew that it had passed, knew that they were safe. . . Without further mishap my brother reached his home where his sudden appearance was considered an apparition by the servants who, as the pale, emaciated and worn soldier almost staggered at his gate, exclaimed, "Yonder is Marse John's ghost!"*

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 24th

My Dear Sister

As I have a chance to send a letter from points lower down than Atlanta, I have concluded to write to you all not knowing what to write that will interest you except that I am very well indeed and doing nicely.

I know not how you all are having not heard from you for some-time. Have been expecting the box you all said would arrive last week, today is Wednesday no box yet. Has it been sent by Express or by the handsome person who was that person I do hope it is not lost. I am getting on finely both with officers and men sometimes being in danger and one time out of danger. Scarcely a day passes except someone of our command is killed or wounded. We still occupy our position on the left of the Ga. R. going from Atlanta to Augusta.

I am still in a house on the Decatur road about a mile from the city. A very high hill overlooks Atlanta, at least a good part of it. I can see at the same time the range of mountains at the north of us, the Kenesaw near Marieta forming the principal one away to the N.E. I can see almost as plainly if I was on it

*After the War, Major Kendrick accepted a professorship in Florida, but later removed to Alabama where he spent the remainder of his life in teaching. At the time of his death he occupied the Chair of Mathematics at the State Normal School at Daphne, on the Eastern shore of Mobile Bay.

the Stone mountain. So you see I've a pretty place to stay. Guess I am very comfortabally situated at present but sometimes I am compelled to go into some close places. But I pray to God to protect me from the missels of death.

Gen'l Carswell told me a few days ago that as soon as Mr. Bryde come back which will be on next Friday or the 1st. of next week that he will give me a furlough for a few days. If I can pass down the West Pt. road I am coming by to see you. But if not I will have to content myself by visiting by home in Washington. But I've written to Sallie to go over to see you all & if she does I will come by. I hope she may. You all must come over if I get a furlough.

I received an answer or rather was told by Gen'l Anderson that day after tomorrow evening he would give me an answer whether he would appoint me upon his staff to the rank of Captain. If I accept the appointment it will lessen my chance of getting a furlough till this campaign closes & when that long wished for incident will happen Heaven & its Ruler only knows. I think that the enemy will do something in a few days. But what it will be is known only to himself & God, Gen'l. Sherman I think however is "comfuzzled" for once since the campaign began for before him he has an enemy as defiant as ever. While his cavalry rides upon his rear greatly disturbing his communication. & I hope so much so as will compell a retreat or a fight. Some think Sherman will not retreat without a fight, but with the fate of his army at stake will try to find a vulnerable point upon our long & thin line & if possible break through, throw us into confusion capture as much commissary for his whole army as possible. Which if reports are deserters and prisoners scouts and spies are taken. so a necessary article & much need in Shermans army. & unless his communications are in operations in a week he must fall back. & Gen'l Hood remarked a few days since that if Sherman remains in here for a week he, Hood, would have Sherman where he wanted him.

I judge from this that something of which I and all other small fry are ignorant is now running in the mind of Gen'l Hood. Which on another week of inactivity upon the part of Gen'l Sherman will be turned to our good account & perhaps end this long and steady campaign. I know of nothing new to write to you.

Now if you all do not get letters regularly from me attribute it to my sometimes laziness & weariness also. & to the fault of the R.R. for if anything happens to me I'll not wait for the mail but communicate to you by telegraph. I will not write again till I hear from my appointment. Love to all. Write often to your Soldier Brother.

P.S. There was quite a heavy fire in Atlanta this morning destroying some say about five hundred bales of cotton. I was at the fire and saw the engines for the first time in my life play upon and put out the fire, cause of fire unknown thought to be a shell from the enemy.

(To be concluded in a later issue of the Quarterly)

POEMS

CRYPT-ANALYSIS

These seeds—grey, orange, blue, brown, red, black-burned—
Are letters written by the fall to spring
In subtle code the winter's never learned.
Each tiny, closely lettered note will bring
To land and winds directions for its leaf,
Its blossom pattern, perfume quality,
With bark and height and ageing sketched in brief.
Each acorn's cryptogram will spell a tree
Slow growing and with lovely hardy grain,
A great prolific tree whose pollen dust,
Air carried in the sun and in the rain,
Will gender other bullets without rust,
Smooth, filled with eagerness for life well made,
For power, beauty, rich lobe-shadowed shade.

The apple of the parsley haw will make
An order for a shrub with leaves care-traced,
White blooms, and coral fruit one might mistake
For goldfinch tones the thorns had caught and placed.
The small winged seed of jessamine—ah, me!
A billet-doux! And March will make reply
With small Earth-stars in pleasing nebulae.
The blue-eyed grass's pod will specify
Sea-crystal flowers set on two-edged stalks.

When spring has opened every envelope,
The world, though it be tired with war's blood hawks,
Will never fumble in the pine's limb slope,
In wild-pink's petal texture, dogwood's reach,
Nut's flavor, or shellac for buds of beech.

Ruth Waldsmith
Hartselle, Alabama

FISHING TRIP

Today she laughed at me because
 Her basket held three fish and mine held none,
 But now I laugh much more at her
 As I unpack my good catch, one by one.
 She did not notice that my lid
 Could not be closed upon my heavy load.
 I carried five round smooth red notes
 A cardinal had left upon the road;
 Six new designs of leaf and cone;
 A pale blue movement of a wing aslant;
 A dozen scarlet stars that grew
 In contsellation on a fire-pink plant;
 A little wind that ran to me
 Across the pine straw hill and spoke in rhyme;
 And one bright perch I might have caught
 Had I not moved my wormy hook in time.

Ruth Waldsmith

CREPE-MYRTLE TIME IN ALABAMA

Crepe-Myrtle blooms in Alabama now,
 And every living place is avenued
 With billowed clouds of loveliness: each bough
 Commingles with its fellow, crimson hued,
 To permeate the air with frankincense.
 Cloyed with their sweets, bees drone a chanterell
 Of slumberous joy, which lulls to indolence,
 To calm and rest, with a Circean spell.
 Glamorous tree of love! When Paris gave
 The golden fruit to Venus, ever fair
 And radiant off-spring of the crested wave,
 She wore a wreath of myrtle in her hair.
 So myrtle crowned, in lustrous rosy sheen,
 I name you, Alabama, Beauty's queen.

Anne Southerne Tardy

NOW IN WHITE APRIL

No longer shall I question Spring
 When Winter clouds hang low,
And icy winds reveal a world
 Immaculate with snow;
For lifting from earth's meager board,
 Their dainty crystalline—
Narcissi pledge green miracles
 In cups of frozen wine.

Lucille Key Thompson

. . MEMORY . .

I did not know a mind, I knew a soul,
The form of it lies shivering in the cold.
The source of it lies empty in the sea,
Of forgetfulness, though pitless it may be.
For there's nothing ever happened all forgot,
'Tis like the pieced quilt, lying on my cot,
And yet it is a covering for me,
This pieced thing, it is a *Memory*.

It is a painted lady in a gown
With all the tails and streamers hanging down,
It is a hazy maiden in the shade
True lovers, gliding down the sunny glade ;
It is a dog barking in the dark,
It is one lonely, gliding in the park.
It is a thousand tricky, baseball plays,
It is an error haunting serious days.
It is a man made oath, a secret plot,
It is a laughing gang, forsaken lot.
Bold Memory is a darting, dashing power
That hovers around me, claims me any hour,
When peace comes trampling o'er the sea,
It is my quiet soul's soliloquy.

No matter what may trespass o'er my bower,
Whether I'm in the cell or in the tower,
Memory slips her ghostly courtesy,
Surrounds, entails all of the whole of me.
And there I linger as an idle king
Watching her gaily prance, or sadly sing ;
Until my present world recalls to me,
And lures me back to vague reality.

Louisa Jane Moses

ON THE BREVITY OF LIFE

"Life is not real," the mourner said.
"The winged musician, now is dead
Life is not real.

A body made a visit here;
Athrill embracing, our climb up the hill,
Is but elastic,
But things that in a moment go
Are everlasting never more.

A snow flake fell with-in my hand
And as I seemed to understand,
There was water!
Nothing is real,
Life is far too brief," he said,
"The calm and the still
Is as a summer's greeting,
And bowed his head.
The ecstasy of heaven is hardly worth
The brevity of moments spent on earth!

Life lithe-like, juggling with frills ,
Gives an elvan feeling of things unreal.
"Tis a fairy setting, this I know
And clench and hold it ere it go."

Louise J. Moses

HYMN OF PRAISE

Unfurl the stars and stripes
From ocean unto ocean
As we thank God together
For his benign devotion.

Praise Him that pioneers
Tilled well the land they found,
And planted freedom's seed
Beneath our fertile ground.

It is not for fruit alone
Hanging golden upon the vine,
Nor these swift autumn days
Like rare and seasoned wine.

But also for our heritage
We bend the knee to pray;
We sing a special hymn
On this Thanksgiving Day.

Louise Leyden.

TO INDIAN SUMMER

You gaily flaunt a brilliant leafy dress
And lure me with your shrewd, coquettish ways;
I cannot spurn a tender, soft caress
Or turn deaf ear to lovely golden lays.
Tall grain stands ready for the swinging blade,
Lush purple grapes call from the weighted vine,
The fruitful land is waiting now for aid
While I quaff down the nectared woodland wine.

A fickle lover you will prove to be
When jealous winter fades your showy throne
You subtly fill my heart with ecstasy
While robbing fields of harvests newly grown.
A wounded heart will very quickly mend,
But harvests only come at summer's end.

Louise Leyden.

Originally published in BOZART.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mud on the Stars by William Bradford Huie. Fischer. 1942. \$3.00.

Mud on the Stars is forceful reporting of the reactions of one young American to "the national experience" of 1929-1942. It is written by the associate editor of *American Mercury*, an Alabamian. Most of its scenes are laid in Alabama.

The novel opens in a Louisiana honky-tonk, where Private Peter Garth Lafavor is celebrating New Year's Eve to the accompaniment of a nickleodeon's *Remember Pearl Harbor*. Lafavor has recently joined the army, having made up his mind that human beings are worth fighting for.

The story then goes back through the thirteen years of social confusion and cynicism which Lafavor and others of his generation have floundered in. Born into one of the oldest families in Alabama's Tennessee Valley, he has been taught to believe in Rugged Individualism and the Baptist Church. His early world begins to crumble at the University of Alabama when he discovers Jews, communism, and sex. The New Deal brings resentment and finally hatred—when the Government condemns and floods his Tennessee Valley plantation. Roosevelt, Hugo Black, the Scottsboro Case, Bibb Graves, the Alabama Legislature, labor unions, and Birmingham public officials all come in for discussion and all contribute to his confusion in the matter of social loyalties.

After a severe mental crisis he finds himself embracing the principles of the New Deal. He finally goes to work for the TVA as a Government public relations agent in Huntsville. The final crisis in his search for faith in the human species occurs when he is able to make up his mind that he is willing to join the army to fight Hitlerism.

The author does not pretend that this "historical novel of the present" represents the thought of the typical soldier of World War II. In fact he denies that there is a typical soldier. He simply claims that Peter Garth LaFavor may be found in the army. The book will be strongly liked or strongly disliked by Alabamians.

—Emliy Calcott.

At the Moon's Inn by Andrew Lytle. Bobbs-Merrill. 1941. \$2.75.

Chatu-Huchi by Leila Fearn Lusk. Kaleidograph Press. 1941. \$1.50.

Alabama's Indian stories are all too few. Distance has not yet lent sufficient enchantment. It is true that the Department of Archives has an impressive Indian Collection, that Alabama has her Mound City, that Indian arrowheads can still be picked up by the handful in various places, and that many local residents can tell Indian stories associated with particular places (chiefly derivative of Jackson's campaign). But written accounts of such Indian heroes as Tuscaloosa or MacIlvray are few, whereas popular accounts of Indian culture are practically non-existent. Andrew Lytle's *At the Moon's Inn* and Leila Fearn Lusk's *Chatu-Huchi* are interesting contributions to Alabama's small collection of Indian lore.

At the Moon's Inn is a hair-raiser. Beginning as a love story between Dona Ysabel de Bobadilla and her father's erstwhile page, Hernando de Soto, the story moves swiftly to an account of de Soto's incredible march from Florida to the Mississippi River. The title of the book is derived from an old Spanish phrase meaning to sleep in the open. The unusual quality of the book lies in its ability to excite and to inform simultaneously. The reader is never free from the tension and fear of the Spaniards on watch for Indians and fighting almost every step of the way. At the same time he acquires a considerable fund of solid information about de Soto's ruthless search for gold and the inevitable response of the Indians. Spaniards already had a sufficiently bad reputation among Southern Indians, and when de Soto re-introduced them to the notorious executive methods of the Conquistadores, they almost invariably replied in kind. The reader follows de Soto through terrain which now comprises nine states. There are some light spots in the narrative—a love story or two, an illylic day or so at fishing—but for the most part the novel is tensely somber.

Characters are painted with bold strokes, both Spaniards and Indians. The giant Tascaluca, of course, dominates the Alabama scene by virtue of both his own personality and of his cleverly planned trap at Mauvilla. But there are other Indians equally bold and intelligent who live again in Lytle's novel. Among the Spaniards the lonely and enigmatic de Soto dominates the scene. But more lovable characters are Tovar, his young lieutenant, and per-

haps Ortiz, an Indian captive for many years and at last a person of divided sympathy. Character, plot, and setting make the novel fast-moving and informative.

Chatu-Huchi, a slim little volume, is an entirely different type of book. It has in common with *At the Moon's Inn* only the fact that it deals with Alabama Indians at the time of the white man's first impingement. The book contains four Indian stories and localizes them in terms of contemporary Alabama geography. Events are laid in Marshall and Morgan counties. Three stories are tragic Indian romances. The last involves the Indian explanation of the rock formations in the Cave of the Broken Arrows near Valhermosa Springs. It is a story that strangely parallels Lucifer's expulsion from heaven and consequently is of interest both to the general reader and the folk-lorist.

Mrs. Lusk has often used these legends in her lectures and had them printed in book form at popular request. Their popularity indicates their worth. Indeed, if Mrs. Lusk added more legends to her collection, their popularity might be still greater.

—Emily Calcott.

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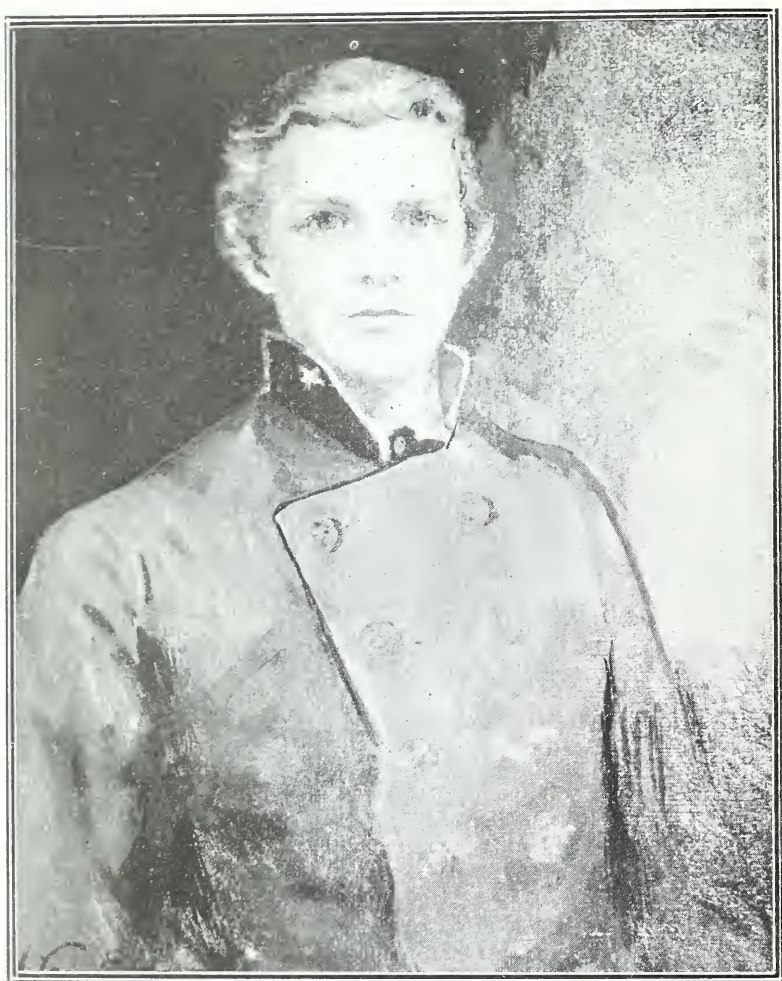
SUMMER ISSUE

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Major John Pelham

MAJOR JOHN PELHAM

The Alabama Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, has just presented an oil portrait of Major John Pelham, brilliant artillerist of the Confederate States Army, to the Alabama State Department of Archives and History. This portrait painted by Mrs. M. Van Elliott, is an excellent piece of work and has been hung in the World War Memorial Building which houses the collections of the Department. Hanging beneath the portrait of Pelham is his saber which owing to its great historical value has been placed in a case especially made for it so that it is safe from any kind of depredation.

Alabama has never produced a more dashing and romantic figure than that of "The Gallant Pelham", a designation bestowed upon him by General Robert E. Lee after observing the brilliant manner in which he handled his battery of cannon. The sketch of Pelham presented here is taken from *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, by Thomas M. Owen.

PELHAM, JOHN, major of artillery, C.S. Army, was born September 7, 1838, near Alexandria, and was killed March 17, 1863, at Kelly's Ford, Va.; son of Dr. Atkinson and Martha Montford (McGehee) Pelham (q.v.); brother of Charles Pelham (q.v.) He remained in Calhoun County until appointed a cadet at West Point, 1856, by Hon. S. W. Harris. He was placed in the only five year class ever organized at the academy and was considered the best athlete in the Academy. His commission had been passed on but before he received it, he left West Point, and in April, 1861, crossed the line at Louisville, Ky., disguised as one of Gen. Scott's couriers. He went at once to Montgomery, reported for duty in the C. S. Army and was commissioned first lieutenant of artillery in the regular army, and ordered to take charge of the ordnance at Lynchburg, Va. He remained there for a few days and then was assigned as drill master to Albertus', afterwards Imboden's, battery at Winchester. He handled those guns at the first battle of Manassas in such a manner as to attract the attention of his superior officers. He was entrusted with the organization of a battery of six pieces of horse artillery by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, and in the fall of 1861, raised the required number of men from Alabama, Virginia and Maryland. At Williamsburg he was again conspicuous for valor and skill, and at Cold Harbor he was personally congratulated by Stonewall Jackson. He thrust his

pieces forward almost into the enemies columns at the second battle of Manassas, and used them with fatal effect, again receiving the thanks of General Jackson for heroic conduct. At Sharpsburg he was placed in command of nearly all of the artillery on the left of the field and directed it with a master's hand. He was with Stuart in the retreat from Aldie to Markhams where he fought the immense odds of the enemy till they were within a few paces of the muzzle of his pieces, then limbered up and drew off to a better position, to renew the struggle. At the battle of Fredericksburg, he went to the foot of the heights with one Napoleon gun, opened the battle and drew upon himself the concentrated fire of half a dozen batteries. He fought until nearly every horse he had was killed, and after he had cleared the way, the forces of General Jackson and Gen. A. P. Hill drew up and joined lines. At that time, Gen. Lee, in the presence of his corps commanders and his staff remarked on the youth and bravery of Pelham. He held his ground until his ammunition was exhausted, then retired in obedience to a peremptory order, and was assigned to the command of the artillery on the Confederate right. He advanced those pieces on the retiring enemy, and at nightfall was harrassing their crippled flank. In Lee's general orders of that battle he styled him "the gallant Pelham", name that was at once adopted throughout the army. He was the only one under the rank of a general ever mentioned by Lee in general orders. His commission as lieutenant colonel was issued soon after, and only awaited confirmation by the senate when his death occurred. He had gone to visit friends in Culpepper County, Va., when the cannonading aroused and hurried him to Kelly's Ford on the Rappahannock. His artillery had not come up, but he joined a regiment that was wavering and in the advance was struck by a shell fragment which penetrated the back part of his skull. He lingered till after midnight, and the news of his death was telegraphed by General Stuart to Hon. J. L. M. Curry, saying "The noble, the chivalric, the gallant Pelham is no more. He was killed in action yesterday. His remains will be sent you today. How much he was beloved, appreciated and admired, let the tears of agony we here shed and the bloom of mourning throughout my command, bear witness. His loss is irreparable." His body lay in state at Richmond, then was taken to Jacksonville for interment. Last residence: Calhoun County.

CONFEDERATE PENSION LAW AMENDED

Alabama sent 125,000 men into the Confederate Army out of a white population of a half million people, a larger percentage of soldiers to enter the armed forces of the Southern army in proportion to her population than any of the other Confederate States. After the war was over, the battle for independence lost and the man power so reduced, general poverty and depression prevailed, the troubles of our people being multiplied by the Reconstruction conditions. In the course of time, however, the Legislature appropriated money to buy artificial arms and legs for disabled veterans and finally made small monetary appropriations for the indigent ex-soldiers. Appropriations from the general treasury for the relief of needy Confederate soldiers in Alabama were made as follows:

Act approved March 8, 1876	\$ 5,000.00
Act approved February 8, 1877	5,000.00
Act approved February 13, 1879	1,800.00
Act approved February 13, 1879	10,000.00
Act approved March 1, 1881	15,000.00
Act approved February 23, 1883	15,000.00
Act approved February 17, 1885	25,000.00
Act approved February 25, 1887	30,000.00
Act approved February 28, 1889	50,000.00

In February 1891, a tax of one-half mill on the dollar was levied as a Confederate pension fund and under that Act the following year above \$132,000 was raised. Each year thereafter the funds continued to be considerable. In 1899 the tax was raised to one mill on the dollar and the following year \$251,439.21 was raised. Each year thereafter the amount continued to increase until in 1910 above \$800,000.00 was raised. In addition to the funds raised by the one mill tax an appropriation was made in 1911 of one half million dollars for pension purposes contingent on the condition of the State Treasury and the Governor's approval. From then on funds from the one mill tax continued to rise, some years reaching above a million dollars. By 1919 the death rate among veterans and their widows became considerable and now there are only sixteen Confederate Veterans living and receiving pensions in Alabama and 877 widows of Confederate Veterans.

In 1936 the pay for the veterans was increased to \$65.00 a month and the widows to \$30.00. During the present session of the Alabama Legislature, 1943, a Bill was introduced in the Senate by the Hon. John H. Pinson, of Geiger, representing the Fourteenth Senatorial District, composed of Pickens and Sumter Counties, to increase the pay of the Confederate Veterans to \$100.00 per month and the widows to \$40.00. This Bill was passed by both Houses of the Legislature and approved by the Governor.

Senator Pinson, a native of Sumter County, is the son of a surgeon in the Confederate Army. In making his appeal to the Senate for the passage of his Bill he made the following address:

Mr. President, I do not feel like it is necessary to take up much of your time in discussing Senate Bill No. 26, as I feel sure that all of you are in favor of this measure. However, if you will pardon me, I would like to say a few things about the Confederate Soldiers.

I am the son of a Confederate Soldier. My father fought four years under the Stars and Bars of the Southern Confederacy for what he believed was right, and for what I believe was right; namely,—“States’ Rights.” The tattered remnants of the army he belonged to surrendered down in the old town of Gainesville on the banks of the Tom Bigbee River in the County of Sumter. The Daughters of the Confederacy have erected a monument there to mark the spot. If Margaret Mitchell had wanted a better locale for her story “Gone With the Wind” than Jonesboro, Georgia, she could not have chosen a better spot than down in the heart of the Black Belt of Alabama—for here lived many a Scarlett O’Hara and Rhett Butler. Born and reared as I was in the Black Belt with all its memories and traditions, you can well see what pleasure it affords me to be the author and sponsor of this Senate Bill which increases the pay of old Confederate Veterans from \$65.00 to \$100.00 per month and their Widows from \$30.00 to \$40.00.

To economy minded senators and materialistic persons, this \$100.00 per month might seem to be a larger sum than needed. But when you remember that when I commenced preparing this legislation there were 23 old veterans and now there are only 16—and before the ink is dry upon Governor Sparks’ signature when he signs the bill, perhaps many more will have “passed over the

river to rest under the shade of the trees" to be with Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and other Confederate immortals—you will readily see that it does not take much money. Besides, it's their money—money that comes from the one mill tax levied years ago by the Alabama Legislature for the specific purpose of paying Confederate Pensions. It is not educational trust funds, not gasoline tax money, sales tax, nor whiskey tax money. As I said, it is the one mill ad valorem tax levied specifically to take care of the old Confederates. The Federal Government pays all Union soldiers \$100.00 per month and their widows \$40.00; and who is there that would be so bold as to say a Yankee soldier is worth more than a Confederate soldier. I do not know just what other southern states are paying these old veterans, but that does not matter. Here, in the "Cradle of the Confederacy," we want to make one final grateful, magnificent gesture to these old Confederates. As we daily come up to the capitol building we pass along Dexter Avenue where once marched Confederate battalions to the stirring strains of "Dixie" and, where above the noise of the city could be heard the Rebel Yell. Just outside this Senate Chamber on the capitol lawn stands a monument of a Confederate soldier, keeping his silent, brooding vigil over the people he loved. Over in Sumter County at Livingston, and up in Pickens County at Carrollton—in fact, on the Court House squares of all the 67 counties of Alabama, stands a replica of this monument. As you enter this capitol building and ascend the steps, you see embedded in the marble floor of the rotunda a blazing star, marking the spot where Jefferson Davis stood when he took the oath of office as President of the Southern Confederacy. Walk down the south wing of the capitol building and look across at the magnificent building and lawns of the Department of Archives and History, where are stored many relics and memoirs of the Confederacy. Just east of this building you will see the First White House of the Confederacy. Walk across the hall and into the House of Representatives, and on the right of the Speaker's desk you see a plaque on the wall bearing this inscription: "In this hall the Ordinance of Secession which withdrew Alabama from the Union of Sovereign States was passed January 11, 1861." Yes indeed, this is the "Cradle of the Confederacy."

What was it Kipling said in his poem, "If"? "If you can start life anew, and with broken and worn out tools build it up again, you'll be a man, my son." Well, these old soldiers returned to Ala-

Alabama, and from the ashes of a Civil War, with nothing but an indomitable spirit and will, they went to work and built the present great State of Alabama. These men also were the fathers of many of the men who went with Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders", stormed and took San Juan Hill. They went with Richmond Pearson Hobson on the Merrimac and sank it in the harbour of Santiago in an attempt to bottle up the Spanish Fleet. They were the fathers of many of the men who went with Black Jack Pershing in World War No. 1 and fought at Belleau Woods and Chateau-Thierry. Yes, they had a rendez-vous with death in Flanders Field "where the poppies blow, row by row." And, these old Confederates are the grandfathers of the boys now fighting in this global war. In a recent issue of Life magazine T. H. White, a New Englander, writing about the China Air Task Force (successor to the Flying Tigers of General Claire Chennault) upheld the tradition of the Southerner as a first-class fighting man. He wrote, "As a group these CATF people are curious. The top command is almost entirely southern. The southern mentality, I find, is essentially a combat mentality; and a glorious one. I never knew much of the South back home, but the American Consul here, Ludder, who comes from Massachusetts like myself, says 'I don't see how the hell we ever licked them.'" Yes gentlemen, the grandsons of the old Confederates are now fighting at Guadalcanal and the South Sea Islands. In the British Isles they are winging their way over the white cliffs of Dover, dealing death and destruction to our enemies in Germany and in the occupied countries of Europe. They are fighting and dying on the hot sands of North Africa. Yes truly they are fighting "From Greenland's Icy Mountains to India's Coral Strands." Let us pass this bill without a dissenting vote.

And now before "Taps" is sounded for the last of these old veterans—before they are buried, wrapped in the faded grey uniforms they loved so well, let us give them enough money to make life easy and comfortable for them. Then can we say with Julia Tutwiler:

"Alabama, Alabama, we will aye be true to Thee
From thy southern shore where groweth
By the sea thine orange tree.
To thy northern vale where floweth
Deep and blue thy Tennessee.
Alabama, Alabama, we will aye be true to Thee.

* * * *

"Little, little, can I give Thee
Alabama, mother mine,
But that little, hand, brain, spirit
All I have and am are thine.
Take oh take the gift and giver,
Take and serve thyself with me.
Alabama, Alabama, I will aye be true to Thee."

THE PART MY COUNTY PLAYED IN THE CONFEDERACY

A prize was offered by a prominent member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy through the Alabama Division for the best essay on "The Part My County Played in the Confederacy". A great deal of interest was aroused among the high school students throughout the State and a number of essays were submitted for the prize. Those selected as the best are herewith presented with the view of interesting young Alabamians as well as their elders in the Confederate history of their State. Two essays were sent in from Barbour County and because they portray different historical phases it has been decided to publish both of them.

Autauga County's Contribution to The War Between The States

By Franklee Gilbert

On the grounds of the Prattville Elementary School there stands a stone marking the place where the Prattville Dragoons assembled to depart for the War Between the States. That was in April, eighty-one years ago this month. Earlier that month when Prattville was astir as to the important question of enlisting in some branch of military service, there appeared in town one Samuel D. Olliver, urging the necessity of organizing a cavalry troop. His endeavors were richly rewarded by a ready response. In only a few days a troop was organized. Many not being able to furnish their mounts were greatly discouraged. That deficiency was supplied by Daniel Pratt at the cost of several hundred dollars. The noble women, both young and old, encouraged the cause by providing clothing, blankets, etc. One of their first acts was to make a beautiful silk flag which was presented to the company by Miss Abbie Holt.

The company was organized as follows:

Jessie Cox	Captain
S. D. Olliver	First Lieutenant
A. Y. Smith	Second Lieutenant
Adam Felder	Third Lieutenant

William Montgomery	Brevet Second Lieutenant
T. J. Ormsby	First Sergeant
R. M. Moncrief	Second Sergeant
E. W. Parker	Third Sergeant
J. L. Wainwright	Fourth Sergeant
W. F. Mims	Fifth Sergeant
W. L. Knox	First Corporal
John Cotten	Second Corporal
George W. Ward	Third Corporal
J. M. Hall	Fourth Corporal
A. S. McKeithen	Surgeon
Norman Knox	Bugler
H. F. DeBardelaben	Ensign and Commissary
William Patterson	Farrier.

It is due to the students who enlisted from the Prattville Academy to give them mention here. At this time there were from two hundred to three hundred students enrolled in the Academy, some twenty-five of whom enlisted in the company when it was organized. Their ages varied from sixteen to twenty; however only three were twenty, the average age being seventeen. Of these brave young students, fourteen were killed, and seven were wounded.

Immediately after organizing the troop was ordered to report to Pensacola, Florida, to become part of General Bragg's army. In February, 1862, they entrained to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where they anxiously awaited a chance to mix with the "Blue Coats". This chance came in the fierce Battle of Shiloh. The Dragoons were on the field from start to finish, doing duty as couriers for the different commanding generals. In August, 1862, they participated in Bragg's Kentucky campaign.

In 1863, the company was reorganized and was then known as Company H, Third Alabama Cavalry. For the next two years their history was that of Wheeler's Cavalry, which closed with the surrender of Lee.

They were actively engaged in the memorable East Tennessee campaign and fought gallantly at Russellville.

By January, 1864, they were in a sad plight. They had re-

received no pay for their services for 6 months. Their clothing was worn and ragged, the winter severe. Some were without shoes, few had overcoats. Without wagons or tents they marched and slept in snow and rain.

The company arrived in Dalton, Ga., in May, 1864. This was the beginning of the Atlanta campaign. During Sherman's march to Savannah, their duties were to guard the enemy's front, rear, and flanks, this being of utmost importance. Day and night the cavalry were guarding, scouting, and fighting

Later many battles were fought between Savannah and Bentonville, very few favoring the Southern cause. Lee's surrender ended their gallant fight.

Autauga County was represented in the War not only by these men. It sent also The Autauga Rifles. This company was organized at Autaugaville and was later ordered to Corinth, Mississippi. Dr. T. A. Davis was the captain of the one hundred men. The company was later incorporated into the Sixth Alabama Regiment, with John B. Gordon as colonel.

The regiment later moved to Virginia where they remained until the Battle of Seven Pines. In this terrible battle many were killed and wounded. All the field officers with the exception of Colonel Gordon fell in battle. The fierceness of the fight may be shown by the fact that one of the men had seven different wounds on his body.

The fighting ceased the following night and the regiment moved to Jackson's corps. After remaining in camp some time our corps was dispatched to meet the enemy appearing on the Rapidan. However, another company advanced ahead of them and the battle was over before the Rifles reached it.

The command moved from there into Maryland and was thrown into position in a severe battle at Boonesboro Gap, September 14. Three days later they engaged in a terrific fight at Shrapsgburg, Maryland. Afterwards they recrossed into Virginia, where they held a meeting to the memory of their dead comrades who had sacrificed their lives in defense of their country.

They reached Fredericksburg in December and went into winter quarters at Hamilton's Crossing. From there they crossed the mountains at Brown's Gap. On the last day of March, 1863, they were marching toward Chancellorsville when they met General Jackson. It was the last time they ever saw him—he was killed that night by mistake by one of his own men.

A terrible battle forced the company to retreat. Later, however, they took up the march again and were soon in Pennsylvania. They struck A. P. Hill's troops at Gettysburg and were close by during the fighting there.

About April 14, they received notice that Lee had surrendered, and were ordered into camp to receive their paroles. On April fourteenth, Sherman and Johnston arranged terms of surrender, ending the history of The Autauga Rifles. Those loyal fighters who had survived laid down their arms and returned to build a new and finer South.

Truly Autauga County fulfilled its duty in this great War.

The Part Pike County Played In The Confederacy

By Irene Ashworth

Since I was born in Troy, the seat of justice of Pike County, it gives me keen delight to recall some worthy deeds of her sons in the Confederacy.

As far back as 1870 the historian Brewer called Pike one of Alabama's thriftiest counties. And even earlier we have records of her contributions to her beloved Confederacy in cattle, sheep, hogs, grain, cotton, wool, syrup and potatoes. Historians record that in 1824 the families of Murphree, Love, and Henderson began the settlement of Troy. Many old people think reverently of "Granny Love" who befriended many in her humble inn and home for her boys, Bill and Andy. Andy became one of Alabama's representatives to the Constitutional Convention in 1861, along with J. A. Henderson and Eli W. Starke. The son of a staunch pioneer Christian woman lent his influence in the making of the coming Confederacy.

James McCaleb Wiley, a physician and lawyer of some repute, did much to shape the history of Pike. Having served as Major General of the militia of the State in 1860, he was well prepared to render valuable service during the War Between the States. In 1865 he was appointed to the Circuit Court bench and did much to lift his state out of the mire during the Reconstruction period. Many prominent Alabamians have sprung from his family.

An outstanding Pike County son was William C. Oates, governor from 1894-1898. His service to the Confederacy may be gathered from the following record: In 1861 he entered the Confederate service as captain of a company from this county in the 15th Alabama Infantry. He was in 27 of the 40 engagements of this command, and led the 15th Infantry from the date of the Battle of Sharpsburg till transferred to the 48th Alabama Infantry on July 1, 1864. He was promoted to Colonel in April 1863, and was wounded the following October, at Brown's Ferry on the Tennessee River. He lost his arm at Fussell's Mill near Petersburg, while in command of the 48th Alabama.

Another of Pike County's soldiers who will long be remembered is Charles N. Mallet. The War Between the States began

when he was only nineteen years old. He immediately joined the first company organized in Pike County, which left Troy, July 16, 1861 to go to Fort Mitchell, Alabama, for organization of the 15th Alabama Regiment, which went to Virginia under Colonel James Cantey. After leaving Richmond, the division first fought at Pageland, Virginia, then went to Camp Toombs and Centerville before going to Manassas Junction for winter quarters.

The Great Valley Campaign began, Mr. Mallet going through all the battles of it up until June 10, 1862, when his company was ordered to Richmond for the "Seven Days". He was then transferred and sent back to Manassas. He participated in the Battle of Gordonsville, and within a few days in the Second Battle of Manassas. Then he was sent to Sharpsburg, Maryland. He returned to Virginia, but did no more fighting until the following spring.

When the winter was finally broken, his regiment was sent to Suffolk, Virginia, then back to Richmond to northern Virginia, thence to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and returned to Virginia after some of the most arduous battles of the War. After a brief respite his company was returned to action in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Petersburg.

Mr. Mallet returned home a cripple, August 1863, after heroic service, never to return to war. He lived a happy useful life as a citizen of Pike County, until his recent death.

The following information is first hand, being given to Troy High School boys and girls by James Allen Davison, Pike's only living Confederate Veteran, who was Color Sergeant under Colonel M. L. Woods of Company C, 46th Alabama Regiment. "About 100 men from Pike County left from Goshen, Alabama, with Colonel Woods. In this division was Major J. M. Handley and Lieutenant Osceola Kyle. Captain Henderson of Company H left from Brundidge, Ala. Captain Ben Gardner of Company J. Pike County, left from where the Troy depot now stands. In all, about 1000 men went from Pike. The 46th Alabama Infantry was organized at Loachapoka in the spring of 1862. Shortly after, it was sent to Memphis, Tennessee, and had several casualties at Tazewell. This regiment was placed in a brigade with the 23rd, 30th, and 31st Alabama under Tracy. This division saw severe fighting

of Lookout and Missionary Ridge, Tenn. It suffered the siege at Vicksburg, Miss., where it was captured with the fortress."

Mr. Davison says that corn bread and some form of meat was the food of his army. Those soldiers must not have known of morale built by food.

One of Pike's worthy sons was H. D. Clayton, a reputable lawyer and planter. At the first mutterings of the war he organized volunteer regiments of which he was colonel. At different times he commanded the 18th, 36th, 38th, 39th, and 88th Alabama regiments. He was severely wounded at Murfreesboro and immediately made brigadier. He is known as one of the fighting generals of the Western Army.

During Reconstruction he played a most important part with his wise council. He was elected circuit judge in May 1866. One of his speeches in his charge to his jury was so full of wisdom in defense of his Southland against unjust accusations of Northern political aspirants that most of Alabama's judges copied his speech and had it published throughout the State as evidence of the South's real feeling for her property, called slaves, and to show that the South was not revolutionary but was fighting for Independence as their forefathers fought against injustice in 1776.

The Part Mobile County Played In The Confederacy

By Betty Dargan

Mobile County was established by a proclamation of Governor Holmes of Mississippi Territory in the year 1813. Soon afterwards, in April 1813, General Wilkinson took possession of the town of Mobile, in Mobile County, which lies in the extreme south-western part of the state. East of Mobile County is Baldwin County and Mobile Bay; south of it is the Gulf of Mexico. To the west is the boundary line of Mississippi, with Washington County on the north.

The County of Mobile is named for the town, bay, and river, the Maubela or Mauvila of the Indians and Spaniards and the Mobile of the French. The area of Mobile County is 1225 square miles.

After Lincoln's election it was thought by the people of the Southern States that great harm would befall the South. In Mobile, as in other parts of the Confederate States, the people became very agitated. Before the presidential election the state legislature had met and passed a law requiring the Governor in case of the election of a Republican to call a convention to determine what the state should do. Governor A. B. Moore called the convention and it was agreed as being necessary for Alabama to secede. The only difference in opinion was as to whether Alabama should secede alone or wait for the co-operation of other states.

On January 4, 1861, without bloodshed Colonel Todd of the First Alabama Regiment captured Fort Morgan and Fort Gains, and the arsenal at Mount Vernon for the Confederacy. The Governor notified the Federal Government that Colonel Todd had led the Cadets to the forts and had overcome the single sergeant without any resistance, and Captain Gracie with the Washington Light Infantry and Captain Woodruff with the Rifles secured the military supplies at Mount Vernon.

When the convention assembled January 7, 1861 it was found that those advocating immediate secession were in the majority. This action of the convention was popular and there was rejoicing from the Tennessee Valley to the Gulf.

After the passage of the ordinance of secession by the convention other ordinances were adopted designed to cover the needs of the state which had now become as if it were an independent nation. It was declared that navigation of the Mississippi River should be free to all states. On the other hand no change was to be made in the postal arrangements. The U. S. mails were carried throughout the South as usual for many months after secession. The postmasters of other cities began, after a while, to issue stamps, and in Mobile two stamps, one five cent and one ten cent were issued.

Running the blockade was one of the most dangerous and most profitable businesses of the War Between the States, especially in Mobile. Among some of these boats that ran the blockade on dark and stormy nights were the *Alice*, the *Denbigh*, and the *Red Gauntlet*, which carried from six to twelve hundred bales of cotton at one time. Most of these boats were built in England.

The general government had in order to aid the commerce of Mobile in the fifties built a brick lighthouse on Sand Island outside the mouth of the bay. It could be seen for many miles by incoming and outgoing vessels, and was one of the best on the Southern coast. Lying between Fort Morgan and the blockading squadron it was sometimes used by the blockaders to look over into Mobile Bay. Therefore it had now become an injury instead of a help to Mobile's shipping, and plans were made to destroy it.

Forms of government remained the same in Mobile during the War as they had been in times of peace. R. H. Slough was Mayor of Mobile at this time. One Mobilian who was well known in the Church services was Father Abran James Ryan, dear to many before his poetry had become famous. "The Conquered Banner" is one of his most famous poems.

Many Mobilians were in the Army and some in high office at the Confederate capital. John A. Campbell was Assistant Secretary of War, and William C. Gorgas was chief of ordnance and so in charge of the iron works of Alabama as well as Virginia.

Another distinguished soldier of the Confederacy was Braxton Bragg, who was the hero of the battle of Chickamauga. After the

Civil War he was in charge of the work of deepening the channel of Mobile Bay.

A member of an old Baltimore family, Raphael Semmes, moved further South and in 1841 was living on Perdido Bay. Shortly afterwards he moved to Mobile where he made his home, and then became secretary of the United States Light House Board. This often took him to Washington and he was there at the outbreak of the war. His sympathies, like those of most Marylanders, were with the South, and when the Confederate government was organized at Montgomery he promptly responded to its call. He resigned from the old navy, and coming to Montgomery was commissioned to look into naval matters for the Confederacy. The combat at Fort Sumter caused him to enter the Confederate navy. Ordered to New Orleans, he fitted up and equipped a 500 ton merchantman with which he passed the blockade at the mouth of the Mississippi on the 30th of June 1861. He later became the Commander of the "Alabama," that had been built for the Confederacy in England.

The Civil War was fought out in parts of the South which were not close to Mobile, but Mobile was at all times exposed to naval attacks upon the forts at the mouth of the bay. The Federals obtained control of the northern part of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad early in the war, but except in raids they never came below Maridian.

The First Regiment of the Alabama Volunteer Corps was part of the Alabama Militia organization in existence when the state seceded, and was made up of Mobile companies. When Alabama seceded Governor Moore ordered this regiment into state service January 3, 1861 and it was a detachment from it that took possession of Mount Vernon Arsenal, Fort Morgan, and Fort Gains for the State of Alabama. This Regiment was under Ben Lane Posey, who served with it in the garrison at Pensacola and under Johnston in the West.

The Second Alabama Regiment was a twelve month organization containing several Mobile Companies. During that time they were on garrison duty at Fort Morgan and manned the heavy artillery there. Later they became parts of other regiments and saw service in different parts of the country.

The Third Alabama was the first that went to Virginia from Alabama. Jones M. Withers of Mobile was Colonel and Tennent Lomax and Charles Forsyth were afterwards, while Robert M. Sands was lieutenant colonel. Among the Mobile captains besides Sands were John R. Simpson, Archibald Gracie, and Lewis T. Woodruff. Placed in the trenches of Petersburg the Third Alabama dwindled away until only about 40 laid down their arms at Appomatox. Of 1651 names on roll, about 260 were discharged or transferred. No regiment in the War ever had a more glorious record.

Other regiments organized in Mobile were Ketchum's "Garity's Battery", which was a battery of light artillery organized at Mobile in May 1861. The officers and men, all from Mobile County, went first to Pensacola where they stayed until May 1861. Seven of these men were killed and wounded at Shiloh. The battery was then attached to Ruggles brigade and was engaged at Farmington without loss. Another battery organized in Mobile was Water's Battery and Gages' Battery organized in October 1861 and remained in defense of the city during the winter.

Barrett's Battery was also organized at Mobile in December 1861, and remained in Mobile and Corinth, Mississippi until September. Then becoming part of an ill-fated garrison of Vicksburg they suffered heavy casualties and later were assigned to Barrett's (Mo.) battery. Then they joined the Army of Tennessee.

In October 1861 a battery of light artillery, Charpentier's Battery, was organized, made up of officers and men from Mobile also.

On August 5, 1864, Fort Morgan fell at the conclusion of one of the fiercest naval conflicts fought during the War of Secession, the battle of Mobile Bay. Mobile had been under blockade for three years, but during the summer of 1864 reenforcements had come in and Admiral David Farragut had been placed in command of the Gulf fleet. Fort Gaines was besieged on August 3, by a force of about 1,500 land troops. About daybreak on the morning of August 5, four ironclad monitors moved into the bay. The Federal fleet consisting of the Monitor, Tecumeseh and Manhattan each carried two 15 inch guns and the Wennegargo and Chicasa each carrying four 11 inch guns, and the steamers Hartford of 28

guns; the Brooklyn 26, the Octorance 40, Metacomet 10, Richmond 24, Port Royal 18, Lackawana 14, Seminole 4, Monongahela 12, Kennebec 5, Osippee 13, Itasha 4, Oneida 10, Galena 13, a total of one hundred and ninety nine guns and twenty hundred men.

After sailing into the bay they opened fire on Forts Gaines and Morgan. The first monitor struck a torpedo and almost immediately went down. The Confederate fleet went at once into action. The larger number of enemy vessels and their greater speed gave them superior advantage. The Confederate gunboats Selma, Morgan, and Gaines were soon put out of action.

The Tennessee under Admiral Buchanan and Captain J. D. Johnston engaged the entire enemy fleet alone, and at the end of two hours the Tennessee flag came down after what Admiral Farragut characterized as "one of the fiercest naval campaigns on record".

The Confederate losses were 10 killed, and 16 wounded, on all the vessels. While the Federal loss was 52 killed, 170 wounded and the 120 that sank with the Tecumseh.

Fort Gaines could not withstand the land investment and the attack of the fleet combined, and therefore on August 6, 1864 Colonel Charles D. Anderson of the 21st Infantry Regiment asked for terms, but surrendered unconditionally 2 days afterward.

On August 5, Fort Powell on Cedar Point was abandoned by its garrison. Two companies of the 21st Infantry Regiment were stationed at this fort and withstood a bombardment of 2 weeks from 5 gunboats and 6 motor boats which undertook to force Grant's Pass, with a loss of only one killed. Of the remainder of the 21st Regiment six companies were captured at Fort Gaines and two at Fort Morgan. It was not until April 1865 that Mobile fell.

Our histories today tell of the glorious deeds of the sons of Mobile County and we can indeed be proud of those who fought so valiently for the causes of the Confederacy.

The Part Barbour County Played In The Confederacy

By Elma Greene Norton

Clayton, Ala.

Today, as we face a great war as a united nation, we can hardly believe that less than a hundred years ago, our country was divided. Hatred, jealousy, and revenge hung over the land. But now we have forgotten that conflict and stand together with our northern brothers unified with love and patriotism in our hearts.

We have nothing to be ashamed of in our past history but rather we are proud of our noble southern ancestors who fought so bravely for the cause they deemed just.

The reason that war seems so vague is that only a few really understand the situation. Let your mind go back over those 81 years when, in the year 1860 on December 20, a convention was held in South Carolina and that state issued a Declaration of Independence and declared it was no longer a part of the United States. In a short time these southern states seceded in succession: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas; and issued similar ordinances.

These confederated states based their secession upon the belief that the rights of the South, including its property in slaves, would not be protected under the anti-slavery president, Abraham Lincoln. The only remedy was right of secession, or withdrawal from the Union, which southern leaders had long claimed remained to them after the surrender of other rights as sovereign states on entering the Federal Union.

On February 4, 1861, representatives from six of the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the Confederate States of America. They drew up a constitution, elected Jefferson Davis president and Alexander Stephens vice-president. War between the United States and the Confederate States began with the attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861.

The struggle was a long hard one and some of the best blood

of the land was spilled. Brothers fought brothers as each defended the cause he held dear.

The Southern army, dressed in grey uniforms, confronted a better equipped and larger force of Yankee blues. But even with these tremendous odds the Southern states fought valiantly for four long years. Not only the men but the women sacrificed and worked for a common goal. And no other section gave braver men or more noble women than Barbour County, Alabama.

Every record of the War Between the States, as we Southerners prefer to call the conflict, gives names of heroes and heroines from this section. Many or practically all of us can boast of having grandfathers, uncles or other relatives, who served in this noble work.

The women of the county, who heretofore had been used to slave labor, forgot former luxuries and wove, spun, cooked, served, and even worked in the fields while their men fought, and many paid the supreme sacrifice for their beloved Southland.

Because of the Yankee blockade, leather, metals, and other necessities could not be had, but with southern ingenuity substitutes were found. They tanned the leather for shoes and saddles for the soldiers at the "tan yard" where Cedar Springs is now located.

While the women and Homeguard performed their duties, the men and boys fought well with such brave commanders as Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, J. E. B. Stuart, Beauregard, and our own beloved General Henry DeLamar Clayton.

General Clayton was born in Pulaski, Georgia, on March 7, 1827. He studied law and was admitted to the bar with offices at Clayton. At the beginning of the war, he was in the legislature but volunteered his services. He rose from colonel to general and commander, and performed his services gallantly. After the war, he set about to restore his county to its former greatness. He practiced law again and was elected President of the University of Alabama; while serving in that capacity, he died, and the state was called upon to mourn the loss of one of her strongest sons.

Another gallant soldier was Captain Alto V. Lee, a student at the University when the "Yankees" burned Tuscaloosa. After this act he volunteered and rose through the ranks from orderly to captain. After the war he received his law degree and married Miss Lillie Lawrence of Tuscaloosa. He moved to Gadsden later in his life and was elected Probate Judge. There his wife organized the Emma Sansom Chapter of the U. D. C. and his young granddaughter posed for the U. D. C. Memorial of Emma Sansom, the young farm girl heroine, who led the Confederate forces over a ford of Black Creek when the Northern army had burned the bridges. As a citizen, Captain Lee was deservedly popular and occupied a high place in the confidence and esteem of the general public.

Dr. James J. Winn was one of the most prominent medical men of the south. Soon after receiving his medical degree, he volunteered his services and during the war attained the position of surgeon of a regiment. He followed his medical career after the war and did much in the improvement of Clayton.

Those were only three of the hundreds who filled the Confederate ranks and fought with exceptional valor. I feel though that I must mention such heroes as: James L. Pugh, who served in the Confederate ranks and fought bravely, also served in the Confederate legislature and afterwards in the United States Senate; Major W. H. Pruett, of the First Alabama Regiment; Sgt. T. R. Parish of the Sixty First Alabama Volunteers; Dr. Thomas Patterson, of the First Alabama Cavalry; Colonel Seth Mabry, of the Clayton Guards; Colonel Eli Sims Shorter of the Eighteenth Alabama Regiment; Major Jere N. Williams of the First Alabama Volunteers; J. S. S. Willis, member Terrell's Light Artillery; Captain John Arthur Foster, of the Twenty Ninth Infantry; and Dr. E. Crews, Colonel and Commander of the Eighty Fifth Alabama Militia.

I could write pages of names of the many illustrious men who fought bravely and sacrificed their lives for this, the land they held so dear.

We are well proved and can boast unashamed for our county, who gave her boys and did her part in that commendable work of the Confederacy. And today as we stand together, as they did.

and face another great war, let us keep these words of a Confederate patriot in mind:

“True to their noble heritage
With banners red and white,
Those soldiers battled brave
For Southern Cause and Right.”

Barbour County in the Confederacy

By Ernestine Norton

Clayton, Ala.

As is true today that the present war is closer home than the past, so it was yesterday; the War Between the States was closer to Barbour County than a great many people realized.

Yes, it is true that such people as Lee, Jackson, Grant or Sherman never came here; the first shot marking the beginning of the war wasn't fired here either. Barbour County won't go down in history for those things, but she is to be remembered in another, an entirely different light—the important part she played in the war from a political and an economic standpoint. It is a great part, very well worth remembering.

Barbour County long before 1860, when war and secession were becoming a grim reality rather than just a bad dream, had had its thoughts turned to secession. As early as 1849, the year two Whigs ran against each other for Congress, Barbour County was getting its first taste of secession. It happened that a political Campaign the newspapers called, "The War of the Roses", turned out to be the beginning of the secession movement in Barbour County.¹

Mr. Lewey Dorman, a recognized historian, called, "The fire eaters of southeast Alabama, under the leadership of the Eufaula Regency, the most consistent secessionists in the state."²

In the presidential election of 1860, Alabama went for Breckinridge; however, as many had suspected, Lincoln was elected president. Now agitation became stronger than ever. An organization of the Minute Men was organized in southeast Alabama; the church took a stand; secession parties were held. After many days of breath-taking suspense on December 19, 1860, South Carolina took that important first step of secession. On January 11, an ordinance to sever the relationship between Alabama and the other

¹*Back Tracking in Barbour County*—Anne K. Walker,

²*Ibid*—pp. 165.

states was passed by a vote of 61 to 39.³

On April 13, after Major Anderson had surrendered for the Union at Fort Sumter, Mr. Lincoln called for his volunteers. The crisis had come, the fight was on! In Barbour County preparations had been made, and men had been drilling for months.

Because Barbour County was almost totally an agricultural section, slavery held a prominent position. The slave markets were always active; slave owners were prosperous. In 1860, there were twelve thousand in the county. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was the beginning of a new freedom not only for the slaves in the South but also for their owners. One of the owners expressed that thought when she said, "He has freed us, too."⁴

As time marched on, in Barbour County hardships increased, for the luxuries of life were things of the past, mere memories. Somehow, endowed with an abundance of courage and determination, our forefathers carried on in the fight for victory.

The Federal Blockade was tightened. The time had come when a person could not even buy the bare necessities of life. Money was scarce and prices were high. That year Barbour County was the victim of an epidemic of cholera. The greatest inconvenience probably arose from a lack of food. The only source the people had was from that grown on the plantation. It was, therefore, necessary for them to grow relatively new crops—wheat, rice, sugar cane. When certain crops could not be found, others were substituted for them. The clothing problem was also serious. The mass production of cotton ceased due to a lack of markets. Wool for clothing was made at home. Spinning, knitting, crocheting, and weaving were all done at home. Those aristocratic ladies of the day were made to do without things that formally their servants might have had. Instead of a new dress or bonnet an old one was made "to do". However great they may seem to us today, such sacrifices were honors to them, for they were a part of a job to be done. It was a job they did so thoroughly that Barbour County was put on a new economic basis.

³*Back Tracking in Barbour County*—Anne K. Walker, pp. 174.

⁴*Ibid.*—pp. 183-185.

Perhaps one of the most exciting events of the war was the visit of (Union) General B. F. Grierson to Barbour County on April 29, 1865. News that the war was over had not yet reached Alabama; so the people were filled with much anxiety. Grierson stayed in Clayton a short time before marching to Eufaula, where he stayed for a bit of "Southern hospitality". While in Eufaula, he received orders to return to camp for the war had ended on April 9. Instead of war, as had been expected, Eufaula saw him pass in peace.

The War Between the States was over! Barbour County had played its part in that great theater of war well. Now its citizens returned home and with renewed vigor they rose to build a new and better world for generations to come. The road was hard and the pathway dark for they were faced with a twelve year period of Reconstruction and the problems it brought; but somehow, sometime, they would succeed. Today we know their struggle was not in vain, for all around us is the evidence of their success—our own Barbour County.

The Part Montgomery County Played In The Confederacy

By "*Franc Lynne*"

Let us dispel for a few moments the mists now veiling the grandeur of that once glorious civilization which gave, so passionately, of its very soul to our Lost Cause—not many years ago. Montgomery County, situated in the heart of the Black Belt, contributed the Cradle in which the new born government was laid, and was for five and one half months the Capitol of the Confederacy. Let us relive with that great people the brilliant, yet tragic, crisis which hurled it from its easy, cultured way of life deep into an abyss of abject misery.

In clear, ringing tones our silver tongued orator, William Lowndes Yancey of Montgomery, denounced Lincoln's election "by the Black Republican party, taken in connection with his own political utterances, and the views of his party in Congress, and in the several Northern States, is an overt act against the Constitution, and against the Union", and he eloquently, yet no less emphatically, declared it sufficient cause for the secession of the State of Alabama. From this time on action dominated the scene which had so recently been given over to speech making.

Governor Andrew B. Moore of Alabama immediately called for "a convention of the State to consider, determine, and to do whatever in the opinion of said convention, the rights, interests, and honor of the State of Alabama require to be done for their protection." The delegates were to be elected December 24—what a dramatic and exciting Christmas Day must have followed! The Convention met at Montgomery, January 7, 1861, where as soon as it had organized it elected William M. Brooks, chairman. Though it finally resolved that Alabama would not submit to the administration of Lincoln and Hamlin, as President and Vice-President, there were four long days of waiting until January 11 when "an ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Alabama under the compact the 'Constitution of the United States'" was adopted by a vote of 61 to 39. The severe tension of the waiting populace was released, and it gave way under the tempetuous exultation of people rushing to the lobbies, the galleries, and the floor of the Convention chamber. When an immense flag of Alabama was thrown across the hall the cheering was so loud that the

center rang with applause. Mr. Yancey presented the flag in the name of the ladies of Alabama, and paid a splendid tribute to the ardor of female patriotism. Peaceful guns fired salvos of artillery, and everywhere banners were waving in the breeze.

On January 4 Governor Moore ordered the seizure of Forts Morgan and Gaines in Mobile Bay and the United States Arsenal at Mount Vernon. Next followed, in accordance with a resolution of January 8, the dispatchment of five hundred troops to aid the State of Florida in taking charge of Fort Pickens at the mouth of Pensacola harbor. This was done, Governor Moore stated, to preclude the possibility of conflict with Federal forces—for it was believed that there would be no actual warfare.

The General Assembly of Alabama met in extraordinary session at Montgomery, January 14, where it promptly responded with appropriate legislation in support of the action of the Convention. An appropriation of \$500,000 was made to "the cause of Southern independence", and the Governor was authorized to issue \$1,000,000 in treasury notes and \$1,000,000 in eight per cent bonds "for military defense of the State."

The most dramatic events to take place in Montgomery were the organization of the new government, and the election and inauguration of Jefferson Davis. February 4, 1861 delegates from South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana assembled here as a Provisional Congress of the Confederacy, which after solemn deliberation formed the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America. On February 8 they adopted a Provisional Constitution, which they intended only for temporary use, and on February 9 they unanimously elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, President of the Confederation. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was made Vice-President. President Davis was notified and he came immediately to Montgomery where, after reception festivities, he was presented by Mr. Yancey to a great popular gathering. President Davis made a speech which was received with wild enthusiasm and cheers by the people. This took place on the present Commerce Street front of the Exchange Hotel, which was then the political center of Montgomery. February 18 the first session of the Provisional Congress came to a close, after deciding that the new Confederation would be governed by the present body for one year, and

afterwards by a legislature of two houses.

Though the notice that the inauguration would take place on Monday was not disseminated through the press until the Saturday previous there was a crowd of 10,000 people in the city—obviously a very great assemblage for Montgomery, for her own population was less than 8,000. The inaugural procession formed on Montgomery Street with President Davis and Vice-President Stephens in the magnificent carriage of Colonel Tennent Lomax. Magestically it moved through the jubilant crowds out of Market Street, now Dexter Avenue, to the foot of Capitol hill which it slowly ascended. President Davis occupied a seat on the portico of the Capitol with the Vice-President seated on his right, and the Honorable Howard Cobb of Georgia, President of the Congress, at his left. Governor Moore occupied a seat on the platform built just below the level of the portico, where also were seated the members of Congress, who faced the President's stand. The upper two porticos of the Capitol were crowded beyond capacity, men and women leaned forth from the windows and filled the doorways, and excited throngs covered the hillside. Just as the hands of the clock on the dome touched one the President took the Oath. A bronze star now serves as a marker to indicate the spot upon which he stood. His inaugural address was delivered in a calm, forcible manner—and it was with deepest inner convictions that he stated: "We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. . . . As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed." At the conclusion of this impressive ceremony President Davis was wreathed with flowers by the devoted ladies present.

The participants on that occasion had varied careers in the subsequent history of the Confederate States: the Military Escorts went almost as a whole unit into the service of the Confederacy, the officers who commanded these companies had distinguished military careers in the subsequent four years of the strife, many of the officials of the Congress, after serving a time in politics, went into the army, and the young Assistants-Marshall were later very much in the spotlight in all military activities of the several states.

Mr. Yancey, though he had been a fiery leader of the secession movement, was temperamentally unsuited for administrative work. President Davis, however, in forming his cabinet offered him a position which he politely declined. Robert Toombs, a brilliant, earnesthearted Georgian, had been our President's choice for Secretary of the Treasury, but South Carolina had indorsed Memminger. Mr. Toombs was made Secretary of State which, as it proved to be little more than a secretarial job, he gave up and joined the army. Mr. L. P. Walker was made Secretary of War at the instigation of Mr. Yancey.

President Davis and his family lived in the two story residence which is now known as the "First White House of the Confederacy"; it is preserved in its original form by the State having been purchased and removed to a location near the capitol. The government offices were located near the corner of Bibb and Commerce Streets.

The Congress of the seceded states met again in Montgomery on March 11, 1861—this time to create and adopt the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States of America. This accomplished it adjourned March 21.

As the situation in Charleston, South Carolina was becoming tenser with the passage of each hour, Mr. L. P. Walker sent a message to General G. T. Beauregard giving him discretionary powers to bombard Fort Sumpter. That message was sent April 11 from the building on the corner of Court street and Dexter Avenue. April 12, 1861 Fort Sumpter was bombarded—thus the War Between the States was precipitated. Its fall was acclaimed with wild enthusiasm and celebration in Montgomery. Though Lincoln called for troops the ardor of these hotspurs was unquenchable. President Davis was accorded such an enthusiastic response, in answer to his call for men, that volunteers came much faster than they could be armed. The Alabama Arms Manufacturing Company at Montgomery had the best machinery in the Confederacy for making Enfield rifles—it was kept to its top speed of production until materials finally became totally unavailable. In a public address at Montgomery Mr. Walker received a great ovation when he said, "The flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old capitol at Washington before the first of May."

Alas, alas for the impassioned dreams of these fire-eaters! As year followed upon year, the auroral splendor of the Confederate became gradually obscured by the black eclipse of Fate.

Hard living conditions made people more susceptible to disease; coupled with the inability to get drugs and medicines, it produced an alarming situation. This was remedied to a slight extent by Surgeon Richard Potts of Montgomery, who with and without government permission, traded cotton for drugs at New Orleans; also, some manufacturing laboratories established in Montgomery helped to alleviate some of the suffering.

The darkest day in Montgomery's history was fast approaching. On April 10, 1865 Wilson's command set out for Montgomery, Columbus, and West Point. The horror-stricken people recalled the recent atrocities committed by this regiment of destruction in Selma, and their consternation was deepened by the announcement that a negro regiment had been added to Wilson's band of brutal ruffians. Every possible provision was made for the protection of personal property, and 97,000 bales of cotton were burned to prevent its falling into the marauders' hands. On April 12 Wilson entered Montgomery and the mayor surrendered the unfortified and helpless city without contest—for hope was extinct. Thus the Cradle of the Confederacy passed into the enemy's possession.

Now as filmy clouds gather again about that immortal panorama screening it from view, we can only be deeply grateful to our forbears who lived in this land, and thought no sacrifice too great or too insignificant to lay before the sacred altar of Freedom.

POST WAR AMERICA

By Harry M. Ayers

The following address made by Col. Harry M. Ayers, publisher of the Anniston Star, Anniston, Ala., was made before the Institute of International Affairs at Huntingdon College, on April 14, 1943. While the Alabama Historical Quarterly devotes its pages principally to events in the State's past history it has been decided upon as an editorial policy to include in future issues of the magazine, addresses and essays pertaining to current history and to our future outlook. Col. Ayers' address is the first of this type of material to be used in the Quarterly.)

Mr. Chairman: Before we attempt to assay the political and economic forces now operating in the public affairs of this nation, or before we attempt to determine the direction in which we are to travel in the future, it occurs to me that it may be well to make a brief survey of our past and to take a look at the pathways we have trod thus far. To do this within the limited time allotted to me on this program it will be necessary to telescope history; but even a bird's eye view of the past should be of value in charting our course for the journey that lies ahead.

In his essay on "Compensation" Ralph Waldo Emerson laid down the premise that polarity, or action and reaction, is a universal law of life; and when we look at the panorama of our comparatively brief history as a people, we find that law in operation at every turn. For instance, in this day when we are pleased to think of religious liberty as one of the freedoms for which we are fighting, it is well to contemplate the fact that many of our ancestors came here in order that they might enjoy the right to worship God in a light of their conscience. For a time that right prevailed, but as society became more organized the early American bigots undertook to impress all Colonists into the established church of England. And when we consider the religious persecutions of New England and of Virginia, we can understand that the abuses committed against religion by the totalitarian powers of the Old World today are but reversions to the practices of a day that we thought was dead.

In like manner, you will recall, those early Americans were proscribed by Colonial governors in the enjoyment of political and economic liberty. Hence, we had the Declaration of Independence

and the Revolution. But when we undertook to write our organic law for the thirteen original states reaction once more had set in and that body was more concerned with the protection of property rights than of human rights. Among the delegates to the Constitutional Convention 24 were the leading creditors of their communities, 15 were slaveholders, 14 were owners, though not occupiers, of Western lands, and 11 had substantial shipping interests. It is not surprising, therefore, that they assumed an extremely conservative, if not reactionary, attitude in their deliberations. Indeed, when Thomas Jefferson, over in France at the time, learned of the contents of the document he "revolted," and would have opposed ratification but for the assurance that his Bill of Rights would be incorporated by way of amendment.

That reactionary trend was due, in a large measure, to the influence of Alexander Hamilton, who distrusted the people. We found very much the same atmosphere in the original Congress, and even before the passage of the Assumption Act, by which the new central government agreed to take in all state and federal bonds and to issue new federal bonds at par, to be met out of federal taxes, runners were sent throughout the country to gobble up for a few cents on the dollar securities that had been given to soldiers and other creditors of the original states. Charles and Mary Beard say there were 29 voting members who were involved in this shady business, which laid the basis for some of the great fortunes in the East that endure to this day. The New York Daily Advertiser in its issue of February 13, 1790, predicted that Robert Morris would profit from these transactions to the extent of \$18,000,000; Jeremiah Wadsworth, \$9,000,000, and Governor Clinton, \$5,000,000. It might be said, too, that this one act was the beginning of the disparity in wealth between the North and the South as it was this section that suffered most from the sale of the securities. Due to poor communication, it was weeks before Southern people knew of the passage of the Assumption Act, and hence people down here fell easy prey to the wiles of the Eastern speculators.

It was not long, however, before the Jeffersonian revolution set in. And it is well to keep in mind that revolutions never turn backward. Indeed, in his recent histories, the tenor of which Mr. Jefferson seems to have shared, Carl Van Doren avers that our Revolutionary War was not merely an uprising of the "embattled

farmer," but, like that of France, a widespread revulsion of the common men of the day against the status quo—the economic as well as the political inequities of the time—and in favor of a better world in which to live. Jefferson sought to captivate and implement this spirit of unrest; but in spite of his agrarian-democratic ideas, the ever increasing wealth and population of the manufacturing East continued to advance the Hamiltonian concept of government by the few until a new spirit of revolt came to flower in the party battles of the Jackson period.

Jackson was even more a man of the people than was Jefferson, and but for the War Between the States, which even James Madison envisaged as inevitable, it is conceivable that Abraham Lincoln might have perpetuated the democratic spirit that was inherent in his heart. His assassination was perhaps America's greatest tragedy, assuming that he could have continued control of his Congress after the period of reunion. Yet, his untimely death ushered in an era that Matthew Josephson designates as that of the "Robber Barons," and transferred the government of the United States, to all intents and purposes, from Washington to New York.

This was the period, extending roughly from 1861 to 1901, when the Hamiltonian idea found its highest expression in American government. It was the time of trusts, of rebates, of high tariffs, of frenzied finance of unrestricted immigration and much unemployment, and of dollar philosophy as opposed to social philosophy—a period in which Jay Cooke, J. P. Morgan, the Elder; John D. Rockefeller, Commodore Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, Jim Fisk, Jr.; Jay Gould, Collis P. Huntington, Jim Hill, E. H. Harriman, Henry Frick, Leland Stanford and other so-called "Empire Builders" rode high, wide and handsome across the American political and economic scene.

The antidote to this grandiose period of reaction was the Populist Revolt, which introduced to American politics such picturesque characters as "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South Carolina, "Sockless" Jerry Simpson and Mary Elizabeth Lease, "the Patrick Henry of petticoats," both of Kansas; "Bloody Bridles" Waite of Colorado, Tom Watson of Georgia, Dr. C. W. Macune of Texas, James B. Weaver of Iowa and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota. This "glorious company of the apostles" of human free-

dom suggests an article that Gerald W. Johnson wrote for Harper's a few years back under the title, "O For A Demagogue!" For even that strange species of the human family often serves a constructive purpose.

Much of the philosophy of the Populists, who were the very antithesis of the Bourbons of the banker-industrialist regime, was refined by the elder LaFollette, William Jennings Bryan and Theodore Roosevelt and eventually found its way into both the Democratic and the Republican platforms. They were responsible for better farm laws, better banking legislation, the curbing of the trusts, purer election laws and many other reforms that today are taken for granted. And in all their work they were aided and abetted in the cities by the so-called "yellow journalists" and the "muckrakers" of the national magazines.

However, Theodore Roosevelt did not have an easy time in his effort to establish his New Nationalism over the opposition of the "Robber Barons" of his day, and it is recalled that when he undertook to curb the House of Morgan the Elder J. P. scurried down to Washington in high dander to give the young upstart a very sound verbal spanking. Yet, before he had finished his second term, during which he strove strenuously for better social, economic and political conditions, many of his opponents had been placed by him in the category of "undesirable citizens." Nevertheless, reaction did come again under the Taft administration, and it remained for Woodrow Wilson, another Virginian, to reaffirm the Jeffersonian philosophy under the banner of the New Freedom. But Wilson, too, had to fight all the way for his reforms, and it is recalled that early in his administration another banker, Festus J. Wade of St. Louis, led a delegation into the White House to put the ex-college professor in his place with respect to the governance of the Federal Reserve Board. Yet, when that delegation had finished their stormy protest they had been so confounded in regard to their own thesis that they left the White House speechless, and it was thence that Carter Glass became one of Wilson's staunchest champions.

We all now are familiar with the impact of World War I on Woodrow Wilson's domestic program. Nor did he fail to anticipate its tragic results. For I have in my possession a letter from his Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, in which he

says Mr. Wilson told him the day before war was declared that the thing he dreaded most about our involvement, next to the loss of so many fine young Americans, was the fact that he would have to take into his administration representatives of the big banking and manufacturing interests of the country—those so-called rugged individualists that had fought him all during his political life—and that this would result in the sabotage of many of his very progressive measures. That prophecy, as did several others that Mr. Wilson uttered, unfortunately came to pass in the period of "normalcy" that obtained throughout the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations—a period in which the forces of reaction once more assumed charge of the government.

Mr. Hoover, however, was not as reactionary as were his immediate predecessors. He admitted that conditions had arisen that were beyond the ordinary processes of government to control, and that it would be necessary to invoke the credit of the Federal government to avert calamity. Hence, his Reconstruction Finance Corporation and his appointment of some distinguished scholars to make a study of current social trends. The report of that committee indicated that over a considerable period of years there had been developing a wide disparity between earned and unearned wealth, the odds being stacked against the salaried and wage earning classes. This concentration of a vast proportion of the income from the people's efforts under the control of a relatively small number of persons in an equally small segment of our country was regarded by many thoughtful persons to be alarming. Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, even when President of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, so stated in an address in New York before the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

It was to correct this threat to the safety of our institutions that government by trial and error, now known as the New Deal, came into power under Franklin D. Roosevelt. And in this connection, Mr. Walter Lippmann well says in an article in the Summer number of *The Yale Review*, 1935: "As for social insurance, while it represents a new function of the federal government, it is not a new function in state government, and Republican leaders, including Mr. Hoover, have indorsed it in principle." He also says that Mr. Hoover promoted the St. Lawrence Seaway as a competitor with the railroads, and continues: "To regulate large corporations

and high finance, to extend government enterprise into fields occupied by private enterprise, to use government enterprise as a threat to compel private monopoly to reduce its rates, to insure the weaker members of the community by collective action—none of these things is new in principle. They all are a continuation of a movement in American politics which goes back at least fifty years, and there is little in the New Deal reforms which was not implicit in the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt or the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson.”

I have tried to show in this discussion thus far that the stream of American history has followed a process of ebb and flow ever since Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton began their historic political battles in the formative days of the Republic. The one trusted the people, while the other distrusted the people, and up to this good day the adherents of neither Jefferson nor Hamilton have won a complete victory. This is as it should be, because if Jefferson's will had prevailed unchallenged our government might have degenerated into a pure democracy, whereas if Hamilton had been able to impose his will on the people we might have had an aristocracy of wealth or a monarchy. But we now are forced to admit that both men rendered invaluable service to their common country, and under the representative system of government which has evolved we of this day have become the beneficiaries of a composite of the ideas of two of the greatest minds any government has ever known.

Be this as it may, the American electorate now is being called upon to decide the sort of government we are to have in the years that lie immediately ahead. Personally, I believe in the capitalist system, or what has come to be known as free enterprise: a system of umpired competition. I look forward with keen anticipation to the day when we can dismantle many of our Washington boards and bureaus, and to the day when we can return to a larger measure of states rights. But if we would avoid runaway inflation and economic chaos, we should be slow to withdraw many of the restraints that have been set up as artificial controls during the war. We dare not take any chance that would allow our boys on the fighting fronts of the world to come back to an America that is no better than the one which they are risking their lives to defend.

I feel impelled also to emphasize once more that we are living in a period of world revolution, and that revolutions do not turn back the clock, notwithstanding the temporary victory of Senor Franco of Spain, who, I believe, is living on borrowed time. Mr. Wallace was by no means merely rhetorical when he said that this is the century of the common man. General Smuts said the same thing in a different way in a speech before the League of Nations back in 1918. "There is no doubt," he declared, "that mankind is once more on the move . . . The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march." Britain, however, did not appreciate this fact after the armistice and attempted to restore the status quo ante bellum, as did we. Edward Hallett Carr, in the introduction to his "Conditions of Peace" cites instance after instance as to our common delinquency and as to how we allowed the dissatisfied powers to gain the ascendancy in air force, in tank production, in finance and foreign trade, and in social service to the underprivileged at home.

"If the victors in the present war," says Mr. Carr, "are able to create the conditions of an orderly and progressive development in human society, peace and security will be added unto them. But they will have to learn the paradoxical lesson that the condition of security is continuous advance. The political social and economic problems of the post-war world must be approached with the desire not to stabilize, but to revolutionize."

Mr. Carr is a sometime professor of International Politics in the University College of Wales and the chief editorial writer of *The London Times*. And the England of today seems to be taking his advice to heart, because what would have been regarded as more revolutionary a few years ago than the plan for a post-war world enunciated recently by Winston Churchill, a Conservative, or the abolition of the old school tie as the open sesame to an appointment in the British foreign service, all appointments hereafter to be made on the basis of competitive examinations without regard to social rank, according to Albert Viton in the Winter number of *The American Scholar*? Plans are also under way for the widespread democratization of education in the British Isles, as a result of which the old school tie hereafter will lose much of its meaning, holding for its wearers little more than a sentimental value.

But if we are safe in predicating our judgments on recent actions in the Congress of the United States, it would seem that many in this country still believe that they can with impunity turn back the clock and close their eyes to present day measurements of space and time and movement. I have particular reference to the proposed abolition of the National Resources Planning Board and the summary manner in which its recent report was dismissed. For the Congress to undertake to supplant the functions discharged already by this excellent organization is an aberration. It is a work that calls for painstaking investigation and specialized and detached consideration, desiderata for which the Congress has neither the time nor the mental aptitude.

The limitation of time imposed upon me will not permit a detailed discussion of that report, but any one who wishes to get a copy may do so by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., and enclosing 25 cents in stamps. Its recommendations in outline are as follows:

SOCIAL SERVICES

1. Benefit payments to workers under Social Security who become ill or disabled.
2. Federal aid to qualified youths who desire college training and better educational opportunity for all.
3. Extension of Social Security to some classes now exempt.
4. Aid to local communities to build hospitals as part of a broad health program, including Government co-operation with the medical profession in a plan for patients to pay medical expenses on a "budget plan."
5. Greater assistance to the aged, blind, and other groups receiving public assistance.
6. Free lunches for all school children.

WAR TO PEACE ECONOMY

1. Guarantee every man released from armed forces or war plants a job with "fair pay and working conditions."

2. Continue rationing and other wartime restrictions so long as necessary.

3. Give labor "responsibility in organization and sharing in management."

4. Consolidation of railroads into a limited number of regional systems.

5. Government-private partnership in some plants and facilities, with Government deciding what concerns should be left operating in such fields as aircraft, shipbuilding, aluminum, and magnesium.

I fear, however, that the Congress has misread the signs of the time if it thinks that it can temporize with a subject as vital as this report undoubtedly is to the national interest. There is hardly a large business enterprise in the country today that is not engaged on private studies with respect to post-war conditions. But it is seriously to be doubted if private business can retool and reorganize to meet the challenge that will come when the war is over and demobilization of the armed forces and workers in war plants begins. Some measure of cooperation between the government and private enterprise seems inevitable if we are not to repeat the mistakes of 25 years ago. At any rate, it is heartening to know that even the presidents of the United States Chamber of Commerce and of the National Association of Manufacturers, both anti-New Dealers, are agreed upon the necessity for intelligent planning in advance of the surrender of the Axis powers.

But however we may decide to organize our domestic economy, we still will not be secure, regardless of how many ships, planes, guns and tanks we may possess, if we undertake to live again in a state of isolation. It is not within my province on this occasion to recommend any one of the many plans that have been offered for the organization of the peace. I do agree with Mr. Willkie, Sir Norman Angell and Chiang Kai-shek that we must have a

world plan. There is something good in them all: the Hoover-Gibson plan, the Hambro plan, the Culbertson plan, the Motherwell plan, the Stassen plan, the Federal Council of Churches plan, the plan that is being evolved by the Shotwell Committee, the plan that was hinted at by Mr. Churchill in his last address and many others that may not have come to my attention.

Practically all of these plans are united on the general principle that the Axis powers must be defeated unequivocally and demilitarized immediately thereafter. Most of them agree, too, that there should be some sort of police force to maintain the peace and restore order. Moreover, there should be a broad program for the restoration of the loot the Axis agents have stolen from the occupied countries, and it goes without saying that we in America will have to join with other members of the United Nations in feeding and rehabilitating the conquered countries.

There is also something to be said in favor of Congressman George S. Dewey's World Bank plan for stabilization and maintenance of the peace. I might add, too, that my fellow-townsmen, Mr. F. O. Tyler, a Yale graduate, a student, a manufacturer and a bank director, has evolved a similar plan that has attracted wide attention.

But whatever plan we may eventually adopt, collaborate we must. And the best way we can prove to a suspicious world that we have come to our senses is to give expression immediately to some such evidence of good faith as is contained in the Ball-Burton-Hill-Hatch resolution now pending before the Senate, and then vote without reservation for the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Unless one or the other, or both, of these steps is taken, we cannot hope to retain the confidence of our allies, and our voice will accordingly be weakened in the conduct of international relations from this time out.

In conclusion of this address, already too prolonged, I beg your indulgence to quote the peroration of an address by that matchless apostle of peace, the late Newton D. Baker, before the Democratic National Convention in Madison Square Garden on June 29, 1924. Speaking extemporaneously in behalf of a minority report indorsing the League of Nations, he pleaded with tears streaming down his cheeks for the Convention not to desecrate the

memory of his departed chief. His remarks were taken down by his secretary, Mr. Ralph Hayes, as he spoke and Mr. Hayes has just furnished me with a copy. He said in closing that epic appeal:

"I am a middle-aged man and I shall never be called upon again for any profitable service in any other war, even though one were to come tomorrow. I am past the military age, but I have memories. On battlefields in Europe I closed the eyes of soldiers in American uniform who were dying and who whispered to me messages to bring to their mothers. I talked with them of death in battle, and oh, they were superb; never a complaint, never a regret; willing to go if only two things might be—one that their kinfolk might know they died bravely and the other that somebody would pick up their sacrifice and build on this earth a temple of peace in which the triumphant intellect and spirit of man might dwell in harmony, taking away from the children of other generations the curse and menace of that bloody fight.

"If I could have kept those boys in this country I would have done it. The accident of a strange and perverse fate called upon me, who loved the life of youth, called upon me to come to your homes and ask you to give me your sons that I might send them into these deadly places. And I watched them and shrank with fear and anxiety for them, and I welcomed the living back with unutterable relief, and I swore an obligation to the dead that, in season and out, by day and by night, in church, in political meeting, in the market place, I would lift up my voice always and ever until their sacrifices were perfected.

"I have one other debt—I beg your patience while I pay it. I served Woodrow Wilson for five years. He is standing at the throne of a God whose approval he won and has received. As he looks down from there I say to him: 'I did my best. I am doing it now.' I feel his spirit here palpably about us. He is standing here, speaking through my weak voice, his presence—not that crippled, broken figure that I last saw but the stalwart, majestic leader is standing here—using me to say to you, 'Save mankind! Do America's Duty!'"

JOURNAL OF MRS. GOVERNOR JOHN GAYLE

(Mrs. Gayle, wife of John Gayle, Alabama's seventh Governor, left a journal which her descendants preserved for more than a century before publishing it. One of these prefaced the journal with some family history which is reproduced here for the information of those who are interested in genealogy. Governor and Mrs. Gayle were the parents of Mrs. Amelia Gayle Gorgas, who was for many years librarian of the University of Alabama and for whom the new University library is named. They were also the grandparents of William Crawford Gorgas, the world's greatest sanitarian, a native Alabamian, who was decorated by King George, while lying on his death bed in London. His funeral was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, the highest honor that Britain could pay a distinguished American. When his body reached Washington it lay in state for four days and was finally laid to rest on one of the most beautiful slopes of Arlington Cemetery. Dr. Gorgas had previously been decorated for his work for humanity by other kings and countries. He was closely associated with the work done in Cuba and in the Panama Canal region in exterminating yellow fever. He was the son of General Josiah Gorgas, Chief Ordnance officer for the Confederate Government and Amelia (Gayle) Gorgas.)

PREFACE

These extracts from the journal of Mrs. Sarah Haynesworth Gayle, are selected and published by one of her grandchildren, who entertains for her the most ardent affection and admiration, and hopes to use the story of her life, told in her own charming language, as a bond to hold her descendants together, and to strengthen those ties of kindred for which she had such enthusiastic veneration. The extracts are prefaced by some short sketches of our ancestors and kindred, drawn from reliable sources and dating from 1625 to the present day, October, 1895.

John Furman, the first of the name known in America, came to the Province of Massachusetts about 1625. It is believed he came from England. He left many descendants. Josiah Furman, born May 13, 1744, in New York State, came with his father, Wood Furman, to Sumpter, S. C., and died there in 1800. Richard Furman, D.D., was eminent for his learning and eloquence, and is mentioned in the history of the revolutionary war. He married a Miss Haynesworth and died in 1826. His sister married Henry Haynesworth, direct ancestor of Mrs. Gayle. The Furmans were

generally men of letters and influence.

The Haynesworths settled first in Virginia, and in the long time of which we have record were men of education, belonging generally to the learned professions. Richard Haynesworth married in Sumpter, S. C., Elizabeth Hesse, born in 1718 in Basle, Switzerland. She died in 1806 aged eighty-eight years, leaving many descendants, and is buried in the family graveyard, now owned by Col. John L. Moore, north of Savannah Swamp, Sumpter District, S. C.

Henry Haynesworth, their fourth son, was born Nov. 7, 1746. He married Sarah Furman, daughter of Judge Wood Furman, March 10, 1774.

Richard Haynesworth, son of the above, was born Feb. 20, 1775 and died Nov. 25, 1826. He married June 14, 1801, in Sumpter County, S. C., Sarah Pringle, of the well-known family of that name. Mrs. Gayle's Scotch descent came through the Pringles.

Sarah Haynesworth Gayle was the only daughter of Richard Haynesworth and Sarah Pringle. She was born January 10, 1804, in Sumpter County, S. C., and was married to John Gayle at Sheldon Plantation on the Alabama River, in Clark Co., Ala. She died at the age of thirty-one of lockjaw, in Tuscaloosa, while her husband, then Governor, was absent in the Indian country. The pathetic scene of her death is still remembered in that part of Alabama. With her raven hair falling around her, and her brilliant black eyes fixed in speechless agony upon the group of helpless little ones who surrounded her, she lay eagerly listening to every sound, hoping to hear the familiar step she had so often greeted with rapture; until, as the hours went anxiously by, she realized that the shades of death were closing around her. With a last effort she wrote on a scrap of paper this farewell to her idolized husband: "I testify with my dying breath that, since first I laid by young heart upon his manly bosom, I have known only love and happiness." She was buried as she desired, near her mother on the Alabama River, but has since been removed to Mobile where she rests beside her husband. The following inscription is on her tomb:

SARAH ANN GAYLE

wife of

JOHN GAYLE

was born the 18th of January, 1804,

was married the 14th of November, 1819,

and died the 31st of July, 1835.

She was alike distinguished for steady and unwavering Christian piety, for her social and domestic virtues, and for the brightness and beauty of her intellect."

Governor John Gayle, her husband, was the son of Matthew Gayle (who was born in S. C., about 1753, and died in 1820) and of Mary Reese. The history of his life is told in the inscription on his monument erected in the family lot in Mobile.

OUR FATHER

"A GOOD MAN LEAVETH AN INHERITANCE TO HIS
CHILDREN'S CHILDREN"

Graduated at S. C. College, 1813

Member of Territorial Legislature of Alabama, 1817.

Judge of 3d Jud'l Circuit, ex officio Judge of the Supreme Court,
1823-1828

Speaker of Alabama House Rep. 1829.

Governor of the State 1831-1835

Representative in Congress, 1847.

Judge of the U. S. District Court of Alabama, 1849.

In the family, his brightest and best qualities were revealed. To the public he was the patriotic citizen, beloved by all.

Children of John Gayle and Sarah Haynesworth:

I. Matthew Gayle, born in 1820 and died unmarried.

II. Sarah Ann Gayle, born on Sheldon Plantation, and married in Mobile to Dr. Wm. B. Crawford, who died in Malaga, Spain, in 1843. She died Nov. 27, 1895. She had four children: Clara, who lived a sweet, gentle life and died, after she was grown, in Mobile, where she is buried. William B. Crawford, now living in Texas, is married and has six children. Amelia, who lived with her mother. Sarah, who was married in 1884, to Samuel Hughes of Edgefield, S. C. She has three children: Samuel Hughes, Jr., born in 1885; Sarah Amelia Hughes born in 1891; died in 1895; Crawford Hughes born in 1887, died an infant; and Mary Adams Hughes born in 1893.

III. Amelia Ross Gayle, married to Josiah Gorgas, a graduate of West Point, in 1841. He resigned from the U. S. Army when the war broke out between the North and South, and offering his services to the Confederacy was made Chief of Ordnance, with the rank of Brigadier General. Mr. Davis considered his Department the best organized in the government. After the war he served as Vice Chancellor of the University of the South and President of the University of Alabama. He died in 1883 having always commanded the honor and respect of all who knew him.

Their children are: Dr. Wm. C. Gorgas, a surgeon in the Army, who married Marie Doughty of Cincinnati in 1885; they have one daughter, Aileen, born Sept. 10, 1889. N. P. Jessie Gorgas and Mary Gayle Gorgas who live with their mother at Tuscaloosa. Amelia Gayle Gorgas, who married George Palfrey, Dec. 1881 and has three children: Jessie, born in 1883; William Taylor, 1885; Amelia, 1888. Maria Bayne Gorgas, living in New York, Richard Haynesworth Gorgas, now living in Fort Worth, Texas.

IV. Mary Keese Gayle, married in 1852, to Hugh Kerr Aiken of South Carolina. He entered the Confederate service as Colonel of Cavalry, and served throughout the Civil War in command of "Butler's Brigade." He was killed in defense of his native State,

near Lynche's Creek, S. C., Feb. 1864 and is buried in the family lot in Windsboro, S. C. His record as a soldier and citizen is without blemish. Their children are: Nannie, the idol of her parents, died when she was two years old, in 1857 and was buried in Mobile. John Gayle Aiken, a physician of New Orleans, married in 1882 to Ada Holcombe, daughter, of Dr. Wm. Holcombe; Their children are: Wm. Holcombe, born May 1883; Hugh Kerr born in Sept., 1884; Edith Bayne, born in Nov. 1885; John Gayle, born in Aug. 1887; Warrick, born in Aug., 1889; Ralph Pringle, born in Dec. 1892; Carrie Aiken who was married Dec. 12, 1889 to McBride C. Robertson and now lives in Columbia, S. C.; they have two children, Mary Gayle, born in Sept. 1892, and Minna Bayne born Nov. 28th, 1895.

V. Richard Haynesworth Gayle was born in Tuscaloosa in 1832. He was a gallant naval officer during the Civil War and was captured while running the blockade and imprisoned in Fort Warren, near Boston. After the war he married Flora Gayle and died in New Orleans in 1873, leaving no children.

VI. Anna Marie Gayle was born in Tuscaloosa in 1835, during her father's term of office as Governor of Alabama. She married Thomas L. Bayne in 1853 and lived in New Orleans. Her grace, vivacity and bright intellect made her a social ornament, while her wise philanthropy enabled her to be generous and useful to all. In her home life, her strong noble character and beautiful soul won the enduring love of all who surrounded her, leaving a spiritual impress which time is powerless to efface.—“Her children shall rise up and call her blessed; her husband also and he praiseth her.” Thos. L. Bayne was born in Georgia in 1824; He graduated at Yale College in 1847 and moved to New Orleans where he practiced law until the war when he entered the Washington Artillery, and was wounded at the Battle of Shiloh. Recovering from his wounds he was appointed Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Supplies in Richmond, in the Department of Gen. Gorgas. After the war he resumed the practice of his profession and died Dec. 10, 1892, universally beloved and honored. Their children are: Mary A. Bayne who was married first to George Behn and in Dec. 1881 to Darraugh Albert Shelby Vaught of New Orleans. Her children are: Amelia Behn, born in Sept. 1878; T. L. Bayne Vaught born in April, 1882; Mary Bayne Vaught, born in Nov. 1886; Annot Lyle Vaught born in Nov. 1892. John Gayle Bayne born Aug. 18,

1858 was a most promising and beloved child who died when six years old, during the war, in Richmond.

Edward Bowen and T. L. Bayne, twin sons who died when they were infants in 1860.

Charles Bowen Bayne, born Oct. 12, 1861 and died in Mobile in Aug., 1884. He had just been admitted into partnership in his father's law firm, and in his short life, full of golden promise, had won much affection.

Edith Bayne, born in 1863 and married in 1882 to George Denegre, a lawyer in New Orleans, who became her father's partner.

Thos. L. Bayne, born in 1865, and married in 1891 to Gretchen Miller of New Orleans. They have two children: T. L. Bayne III., born Dec. 31, 1891; William Miller Bayne born May 1893.

Minna Bayne, born July 11, 1868, married to Dr. Stanhope Jones in 1888 and died March 2, 1893. She was a most devoted daughter, a sweet sister, devoted wife and a most tender and passionately loving mother; her affections were so strong and her personality so vivid that they seem best expressed by the epitaph on her grave in the Mobile family lot: "She sleeps but her heart waketh". Her children are: Stanhope, born Nov. 6, 1889, now living with his uncle, T. L. Bayne; Mirian Gayle born March 12, 1891; and Thos. Bayne, born Jan. 18, 1893. These two are the adopted children of George Denegre and Edith Bayne. Hugh A. Bayne born Feb. 15, 1870 and married Oct. 8, 1895 to Helen Chaney of South Manchester, Conn.

Mrs. Gayle's Journal

"It would not answer to whisper to the more refined of this day what composed my pleasures; but to you, dears, it would be amusing to know what made your mother's spring-time happy, while so many aids are called to make your so.

(Here follows extracts from a letter written by Mrs. Elizabeth

Miller, and containing some personal recollections of her grandparents, who were married in 1774 and included in Mrs. Gayle's Journal.)

"My grandfather was named Henry Haynesworth. My grandmother Sarah Furman. They met for the first time at the Hills Church, as it was called, where her brother came up from Charleston to preach the Gospel. She asked a young lady who sat by her, before service, who the handsome gentleman was who had just arrived and she replied it was her brother. They became acquainted; were married. Her brother Richard Furman was truly eloquent; we have seen it somewhere printed that Cornwallis had said that he did not dread a regiment as much as he did the public addresses of young orator Furman. He was an earnest and zealous minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Grandfather Henry Haynesworth had four sisters. One Elizabeth Haynesworth, the first of the name (and was my name) afterwards married the minister Richard Furman, and was his first wife. Thus his visit to Sumter County, S. C. to preach the unsearchable riches of the Gospel, was the occasion of making new acquaintances, who here united a brother and sister to a brother and a sister in the holy relations of matrimony and who were progenitors of numerous families. What may appear sometimes to our finite minds as the result of chance or accident was the overruling providence of God, for the salvation and good of many.

"Rev. R. Furman returned home and resided in Charleston, where he officiated as minister during his lifetime and gained celebrity for having gratuitously attended and cured many cases of yellow fever during its prevalence there; he had the title of doctor. He had two children by his first marriage, Wood and Richard.

"My grandfather was engaged in the war with the mother country. He was in very feeble health when I remember him, and died of palsy; but I am much impressed by my grandmother conducting the family worship during his lifetime and illness. My grandfather was highly esteemed, had slaves and home and lands and lived very independently. His plantation was four miles from the Hills church and seven from Sumter County house. His dwelling is still standing; a good two-story, with venerable trees surrounding it, mostly mulberry. They afforded shade that was truly refreshing in the summer and the early and abundant fruit was

luscious and is still remembered. The ground was literally covered with mulberries, and grandmother's chicks out-of-doors also enjoyed them. My visits to them when a little girl were very pleasant but I was too young to remember much of my grandfather. Near by his house there was a sheet of water and a mill that is still in operation; and which he had kept either sawing boards for building or ground corn of different kinds, and industry was seen on every hand."

Mrs. Gayle's Story Resumed

The writer when a child enjoyed the shady road under the trees to the mill, the sight of the water, the boat, fishermen in the distance, the roaring and foaming of the flood-gates, the noise of the mill, and she could not keep quiet when such lovely and exciting scenes were near. She remembers even now the nice biscuits that she would have given her by her grandmother on such occasions, which she would enjoy and run back to the mill along the shaded path and see all over again.

"Thus it is in life we live scenes of memory when we can do nothing else. Grandmother acted as clerk of the Hills church, being able to write a better hand and more competent than any of the male members who were attached to the church, and so the honor was conferred on her. Although deeply pious she would assemble her grandchildren around her on a Christmas morning and take her large white china bowl with red figures around it and in her lap beat us up an egg nog. I can remember but little of our journey from South Carolina, commenced in, I think, March, 1810. It was a wild road, I know, and we were often attended by the Indians, in whom we had no confidence. Pah slept with arms under his head, and any stir among the horses at night, roused all and put them on their guard. Sometimes I rode on a pack horse, but was always in a glee when mounted on one by myself, and allowed to follow my humour in keeping the path (for road there was none in many places) or wandering off at short distances amongst the undisturbed shade of trees which encroached on the track we travelled. At night I remember being always the busiest in running from the tent to the fires where supper was preparing. The coffee in a tin cup was delicious. We arrived at Fort Stod-

dert,¹ then occupied by the military, commanded by Capt., now Major-Gen't E. P. Gaines from whom we received the kindest attentions. How great was my ecstasy when I saw for the first time the regularity and discipline, or what was more to me, the polished arms and uniform dresses of the soldiers! I flew from place to place, and when Mah became uneasy and sent a servant for me I was found at the guard house, seated on a soldier's knees giving and receiving delight; for all was new and I was the only child but one in the fort. The officers fancied me and took me with them to the parade and all other military exercises. I was frank and lively—fearless they endeavored to make me and partly succeed, for the time. They would place me on the wheel of the cannon, and encourage me to stand the report without shrinking. At one time I sprung back, and in catching at the one who stood near me, seized something in his bosom, which proved a dirk, handsomely mounted in silver, which he gave me, and tied around me with a profusion of green ribbon. With this little weapon, I used for many years afterwards to mingle with the officers on parade, mounting a gentle pony, a present of my father's, low enough for me to spring from the ground to the saddle. They delighted to humor all of my childish whims, and indulged as I was at home and abroad, no wonder they were not a few. In two or three months after our arrival I was taken with the fever; death was anticipated with certainty for the little stranger. My poor mother went in her despair to look at the lonely spot which was to receive her only child,—the physician with whom I was a favorite, sat at my bedside night and day; but at last gave me up. I have an indistinct recollection of lying on a pallet on the floor and on opening my eyes for the first time for many days to consciousness wondering to see the negroes crying around me. I grew better, and Col. Richard Sparks, he is in Heaven now, came to see me,—went home and told his wife, the sick child must be taken to his house until she got stronger. She came the next day and was interested and affected at Mah's absolute devotion to me. She wore a blue ribbon about her neck, which on my noticing, she stooped over me, and let me untie and take it. A bed was placed in a wagon, and placed in that I was slowly carried out to the Colonel's residence. There his kindly foresight had provided me a playmate

¹A fort on the bluff of the Alabama River about fifty miles above Mobile, built in 1799, abandoned after establishment of the cantonement at Mount Vernon.

in Louisa Hollinger, two or three years my senior, with whom I formed an acquaintance which ripened into sincere friendship. She is now the wife of George Owen. She was the pet of Mrs. I., of Col. Sparks—dear old man; he spoilt his 'little froggy', as he called me. Every morning at reveille, we were taken up, wrapped in gowns and dragged in a wheelbarrow (I think) to the parade where the music effectually drove away drowsiness and animated our spirits; in a little while the invalid devoured her breakfast voraciously. It was understood, too, that the band, a very fine one, was expected to perform every night for our amusement at the door; and the only time I remember to have seen my dear protector out of temper, was when an officer detained it at his quarters for a company of his friends. I returned to my parents restored to health.

"It was not risked to spend another summer at the same place, but a place was settled five miles off the river, to which we moved. It was named Mount Vernon² and here we spent a happy, happy period of my life. The regiments followed after a little;—the band was again heard night and day,—I was again domesticated at the tents of the officers and every hour was full of pleasure. Old Mr. Gayle came from Carolina and lived about a mile and a half from us. I asked no more. Mrs. Gayle and my mother, Mr. Gayle and my father, were bosom cronies. The eldest girls noticed me, my future husband carressed me, as a wayward only child, and Maria I indeed loved as my playfellow and only friend for the neighborhood was thinly peopled and my opportunities for seeing females was very limited. Louisa, Maria, and the family of Judge Toulmin³ were nearly all I cared for in the wide world. With these I walked and rode and danced, bathed, sung and learned, what little I did

²Near the juncture of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, headquarters during the Creek Indian War 1813-14 for General F. L. Claiborne, occupied as barracks by U. S. soldiers as late as 1890. Seven hundred Apache Indians with their Chief, Geronimo, were held within the enclosure. Abandoned as a barracks, given to the State and converted into the "Mount Vernon Hospital" really the State insane asylum for Negroes.

³Judge Harry Toulmin, born in England, 1766, died in Washington County 1824; appointed by President Thomas Jefferson, Judge of the Superior Court of the Mississippi Territory of which Alabama was then a part and later became Judge of what was then called the Tombigbee District. He was the author of Toulmin's "Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama".

learn. I was a wild and happy being whose dreams of the world were awakened by the reading of novels and poetry. I was left to select books for myself, and no wonder I lost myself in the delicious images of romance spread around me. My taste has not been reclaimed—it is impossible to apply myself now to useful reading.

"It was in the summer of 1816¹ that I sat upon the bank of the Alabama to enjoy the cool breeze that brought the water in gentle ripples to my feet. A slight noise made me look up and a little bark came gliding by with but a single occupant—a girl not more than fourteen. My first impression was fear that she was in danger; the next, admiration of the skill with which she guided the frail vessel, and at the novelty of her appearance. A fouling-piece with the usual accoutrements, and a fishing line were laid across the boat, and I observed wild flowers scattered at the bottom. The young voyager had dropped her bonnet upon her shoulders and a profusion of dark glossy black hair sometimes fell over her face, obscuring a pair of dark laughing eyes that glanced at me mischievously, after the first surprise had worn away. Exercises had given a fine glow to her somewhat sunburned countenance, and an arched smile lurked around her mouth, with an expression frank, artless and one would say **bold**, had her appearance not told that the customs of cultivated life had taught her to veil the feelings of nature. The boat dropped down the stream and was lost to my view; yet long after I remained thinking of the young creature whose life, I could not but hope, might be as gentle and quiet as the waters over whose bosom she floated. Years passed, and chance almost brought me back to the same spot with the object fresh in my recollections. I looked up the river and started, to see the canoe again coming to me. But the sound of childish glee now came upon the air, mixed with accents I knew to be childish. It came along and a female sat upon the seat with a blooming little girl at her feet; one still younger lay sleeping in the nurse's arms, and a boy, his mother's very image, hung over the edge, dipping his hand in the current, questioning her, who with her replies mingled cautions lest he might fall over. Her cheek was pale and thin, her hair braided, and simply confined around her head; her eye was dark and in place of its joyous mildness a calm tenderness, a touching indescribable something shown out. It was the same,

¹A day dream.

the very same young being who ten years before had come across my vision like a thing of fancy. I knew her, though changed, so as to make me sad to contemplate—and she knew me too, for she bent her head and smiled while she said*—‘my cargo is now a treasure, sir’. Daughters of my heart, that girl was thy parent; those precious children thee, my Sarah and Amelia.

“Mr. Mayhew was my instructor; he seemed partial to me and I paid it back double. I never feared him—a covert expression in his dark eyes was encouragement enough for me when I had my lessons better than my class, and mischievously wanted to show off a little. He summoned me, too, when strangers came to hear the girls read and I remember well how proudly I walked the floor when his ‘view well indeed’ sent me to my seat. He was a man of ardent feelings and the only time I ever stood as a culprit before him, they overcame him, when he told me how my parents looked to my exertions and conduct then, as a reward for the anxiety they experienced on my account, he had been absent from his family two years and when he said ‘You cannot know half a father feels for his child’, the tenderness of the parent gushed from his eyes, and forgetting what I stood there for, I pulled my bonnet over my face, and cried heartily with him.

My escape was complete, and maybe the sympathy I showed then contributed to it often afterwards. He, too, my excellent friend, has mouldered near the scene of his former usefulness, on the edge of the same path he trod times without number, on his way to the academy. So it is—my father, my mother my idolizing mother, my friends Amelia and Sarah, my good tutor,—all are buried, yet I am happy—the recollection of them has no bitterness in it, it only melts me, rouses all that is good in my nature; makes me turn with the more intense delight, to the good yet left, and with subdued hope to the moment when those I possess, and those I have lost, will be secured to me forever.

Mrs. P. looked singular with a veil that did not suit her age. A veil looks over the beaming features of youth—of glowing, smiling fifteen—but fifty! This is doubtless owing to the different ideas my mother encouraged; nothing but her raven hair was parted on her forehead; and a plain cap and a plain bonnet were her only headgear. But nothing should have been veiled that was in her countenance—her black eyes express her pure inborn nobleness.

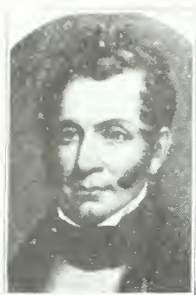
—they would sparkle with indignation, with pleasure, with hope; but oh! how eloquently did this gentle glance speak to the heart of her child, while listening to her tales of happiness or fearing or deprecating for her, those several ills to which even the most fortunate are liable. Blessed Heaven, never let me forget when she laid her head against my bosom, in the agony of her last dreadful sickness, and pressing me feebly said, 'My child is my guardian angel'. Will not this be balm for any woe which may be in store for me? It will, it will.

The changes that take place in this world afford a curious subject for speculation. I love to revert to the years 1817, 18 and 19—I was in my 16th year at the latter period, and surely there was not a being alive so utterly exempt from all cares. My home was on the Alabama; but when I could part from my mother I left its solitude and sought the pleasures St. Stephens⁵ at that time afforded, in its gay society. Just entering upon life myself I was content to witness the triumphs of the girls a few years my senior; and when attention was paid me, I received it as quite gratuitous, and not at all my due. Everything was a source of delight to me. My future husband was then the favorite gallant of the beauties who were wise enough to avail themselves of the half civilized state of the country, to throw off much of the ceremony that has since crept like frost-work over them. I can see the laughing parties sometimes walking on the river bank, with only veils carelessly hung on their combs, sometimes with feathers waving as they dashed through the wild woods on horse back, managing the spirited animals they rode with the skill of Arabs, and then I was always with them for I was accustomed to the saddle from the time my little hands could grasp the reins—but above all I loved excursions on the water—talkative as I generally was, I was unwilling to hear a word spoken. All who have floated silently down a stream have heard the sweet lulling sounds that are heard nowhere else. The dripping of willow boughs in the water—the waving wings of white fowl that look like lights bleaming over the surface—the fish now and then rising and falling in their ele-

⁵St. Stephens, located in Washington County on the west bank of the Tombigbee River, about 100 miles by river from Mobile; settled by the Spaniards, 1790 and American colonists in 1802. In 1817 the first Alabama Territorial Legislature convened there and was made officially the capital of the Territory. From a population of hundreds of citizens the place is now entirely depopulated.

ment again—the silence, the coolness, the shade, and the thousand unanswerd charms such trips offer, make them peculiarly pleasant.

COURTSHIP



Governor John Gayle
in his later years.

I dearly loved my mother, as well I might. Before my marriage she was friend, sister, parent, all in one. She entirely had my confidence in those matters of courtship, where girls usually seek a confidant of their own age. I strove to remember every word that I might repeat it to her. She listened smiling, quiet and fearless too, for she knew my heart remained untouched till her own favorite addressed me. Then it is true I forgot to wait until she knew all; for I was overwhelmed for the moment—the vows of others had brought the blood in crimson tides to my cheeks: but not one had power to drive it impetuously back upon my heart, leaving my cheeks blanched, and my tongue silent. Would to Heaven I could never forget that moment. My mother and myself were just starting to old Mr. Gayle's, as Mr. Gayle⁶ and his friend Maj. Armstrong rode to the gate, just from there on their way to Claiborne,⁷ where he resided. He told the Major he would return with us—and be home the next day. His friend smiled, put an arm thro' his and walked till we were ready. Mr. Gayle's intentions were evident to him while to me, not an idea of the kind once occurred; indeed, I suspected he was at that time courting Louisa Hollinger, now wife of George W. Owens, and bantered him on the subject with a freedom that our intimacy warranted, and with a levity that my youth was the best excuse. His language was a little unusual, and I told him he had become quite complimentary; still I did not dream of the turn it was yet to take. Out jaunt was a merry one—nearly two days were spent with our friends, when my mother, Mr. Gayle and myself mounted our horses for home. I was in high glee tho' I know he was silent, often abstracted; my tongue, my uncurbed tongue, rung an incessant peal—I wonder he did not discover enough of the shrew to put all courting notions out of his head. Mah had let her horse

⁶John, his son.

⁷Claiborne—located on the East bank of the Alabama River, in Monroe County, incorporated December 13, 1819; fifteen miles above the scene of the famous Canoe Fight between the Indians, Samuel Dale, Jerry Austill and James Smith in 1813.

slacken his gait and I drew up mine to wait for her. While I was looking back he called me, and asked if I was fond of poetry. I replied in the affirmative, of course, and he said he had selected a piece he thought extremely interesting, and if I would come up he would repeat it. I immediately cantered to his side and pushed the sunbonnet I wore, to hear: 'What is it?' I asked—but the change in his countenance struck me dumb, almost senseless—he was without a shade of colour, red as he generally was, he spoke in a quick, earnest, unsteady voice—but all that part is like a dream. I know he told me it was unnecessary for me to reflect and consider, that I had known him all of my life and could say at once if I deemed it safe to place my happiness in his keeping—that it would be the duty as it certainly would be the pleasure of his existence to cherish the precious deposit, etc., etc. Had death been the forfeit I could not have spoken. I felt cold as if the blood did not circulate. He entreated me to say one word; and put back the bonnet that had fallen over my face—I do not know what he read there, or what I replied to his impassioned interrogations—but his features were quivering and beaming, and he said he was the happiest of men.

I looked back at Mah,—I could see at that distance she felt much emotion, her face was flushed, her smile was uncertain and she shook her head as much as to say—'all of value depends upon what you have done'. My thoughts were in a whirl and I could say nothing, but Mr. Gayle talked enough for half a dozen. We stopped to eat melons under the shade, when we started he assisted me as he always did, but I was unnerved completely—I could not spring and fell in his arms. The circulation was restored immediately, for I never hated anything so much. When we arrived I changed my dress, and flew to tell Mah all—he remained quite late and proposed to ride to a near neighbors to eat melons—we met two gentlemen, one a warm friend of mine. I believe poor Guild sincerely loved me; but he knew it would answer no purpose to tell me so while the other person was speaking to Mah, he came round to me and said in a low voice: 'It is all over.' A few moments brought us to the door, and Mr. Gayle took his leave, to be down again in two days. I gazed after him and scarcely dared to ask myself: is that my plighted husband! How did the pulses of my happy heart beat towards him! Oh, what a life was mine—I knew he was the darling of my parents, and I never had seen a fault in him—I had called him brother in my childhood, friend

in my youth, and now I whispered in the depths of my bosom lover. Time flew—in three months we were to be united—two or three days in each week he spent at Sheldon, as I had named our residence. It did not need amusements to make us happy.—We sat in the passage or under the trees, with no wish ungratified. His affection was the purest on earth, and it was given to me. The days drew near and in the midst of the preparations his servant came to say his master was dangerously ill—my blissful visions disappeared like frost-work—I could think of nothing but the being I loved scorching with fever and racked with pain. Mah promised if he did not speedily grow better she would go and be his nurse, and that I should see him. He did mend in a few days—Jim came smiling to tell that Master was getting well, and the next day he got in a sulky and came down. I never could explain myself, why I did not meet him, nor why I should have shown so little joy. God knows that and every warm feeling was gushing over my heart—he fell upon the bed in weakness and then I could no longer restrain myself, but paid him all the attention I could—suffered his arm to keep its place around me and obeying the gentle direction he gave it, laid my head upon his bosom. His eyes were closed but he has since told me, his feelings then were an agony. Mah sat a little apart, a quiet witness of our happiness. Time, time, why did you not become stationary then? But I should have thought of no period but the present, of no heaven but that of loving, and being loved. A wise Creator has awakened me by taking my beloved Mother to himself—an infant then was yielded, and then my only parent—friend after friend died—yet I am in danger of forgetting what may be, in the possession of that matchless husband, who has a thousand times surpassed all that his virtues promised, and my young heart hoped.

John Gayle's Letter

My dear Sarah,

The period of our marriage will soon arrive.⁷ We shall then be destined equally to share whatever may be the fate of either of us. If one is to be happy and prosperous, or unfortunate and miserable, the other will be equally so. Anything which can, in

⁷He was twenty-seven at the time and Sarah in her sixteenth year.

the smallest degree affect the peace of a union so interesting and important, very naturally excites the most anxious and earnest solicitude. The concealment of each other's circumstances, or the not disclosing them as they really are, is productive of more unhappy marriages than perhaps any other cause. Your letter to your Grandmama I read with a sort of exstacy, which, from the poverty of the English language, cannot be described. You seem to have written with the prospect of connubial bliss fully before you. When you adverted to my profession and prospects in its practice, you were sanguine to a degree that might be productive of disappointment. To prevent even the possibility of such a result, I feel it my imperious duty, and I conceive it not only due to myself, but particularly to you, to state what my present situation is, and what my practice.

The practice of the Law, since I have been engaged in it, from the general failure of the courts has been so little profitable, that but few of the members of the bar, have by it, supported themselves. I have myself been compelled to resort to other resources. My share of the business is only a tolerable one. As yet I have realized nothing. My success will depend on circumstances—on the confidence of the people, and on the proper and skillful management of causes yet to be determined. I am aware that some of my friends, their extreme anxiety for my welfare and distinction in the world, have improperly imagined that I am fast approaching to, and almost arrived at eminence, already. This impression is erroneous and would to me be pernicious and ruinous. It is impossible for me to say what may be my success, or how lucratively or extensively I may be engaged in business. I may or I may not equal my hopes or the expectations of my friends.

Without this explanation I should not have been altogether satisfied. There is nothing else that can disturb or destroy the happiness which we both promised ourselves, and which I so much delight to contemplate. You deserve this candor as well as the affections of the heart. To withhold the former would be destructive of the latter. I now look forward to the 28th as the commencement of secure and certain happiness. I do fervently hope that our felicity may be unmarred whether we may be doomed to be the victims of adversity, or the favorites of fortune.

Your devoted

J. Gayle, Jr.

An Account of a Summer Camping

We lived one summer four or five miles from Claiborne, our rooms so near that we might sit at home and hold our chats always lively, for we were very, very happy. Matt was seven months old and I not eighteen years. We did not have even a fence around our cabins, nor a chimney, except to the kitchen, but when the weather in the fall grew chilly, we had pine fire made in the yard, and there we sat laughing at our own appearance, smoked as we were and ready to turn everything into a frolic. A fine spring broke out of the hill and that was in truth nearly all of the luxury we could boast of. I have many a dinner in my mind there—okra from Mrs. Murphy's,⁸ was the best article of food we had sometimes. But we had that which prepared a sauce for all things, youth, health and overflowing happiness. We laid away our work early in the evening to watch for our husbands to make their appearance over the brow of the hill, they as happy to come as we were to see them. I knew that Mr. Gayle loved me better than most men loved their wives—he had that sort of love that drew him to my presence constantly, and it seems to me that I cannot remember any time that his eyes were not seeking me, and that the expression I met there did not create and keep alive sunshine in my bosom. There is a pulse from my head to my feet, and every throb is full of love for him.

⁸Probably Mrs. John Murphy, wife of John Murphy, Alabama's fourth Governor.

Written for her eldest son, Matthew Gayle, then about seven years old, to speak at school.

I rise with beating heart to ask
Your hearing to my little task
My elder friends the livelong week
Are learning what they wish to speak,
And would it not be hard indeed,
Because I'm small and cannot read
That I should not be taught the wile
By which they wish to win your smile?
My efforts yet are like my frame,
Puny, childlike, unknown to fame.
But you may live to see the day
When climbing honor's rugged way
You scarce will know the boy who now
Begs leave to make his humble bow.

My master says I must rise and bow just so
And then must make a speech—but surely no!—
He does not mean that I, half dead with fear
Should stand before the bright eyes gazing there
Stammering out what so bad will appear,
That I will go without one friendly cheer!

Ah! he's a man, has learned his part
And knows the Columbian Orator by heart
If he would prompt me—but he clouds his brow—
Oh that the curtain were between us now!
If yonder ferrule were but out of view—
Do hide it where he will never find it—do—
My time is out, my speech is not begun,
Indeed I did intend to have spoken one.
Kind ladies smile, to you alone I look,
I'll study hard in my new spelling book;
And if they let me get a speech once more,
I'll so delight you that you'll cry "encore".

Miscellaneous Poems by Mrs. Gayle

Oh Thou, who gave Thine only son to die
That fallen man might live eternally,
Hear Thou the prayer that all my powers express,
And lead my love through life to happiness.

Welcome, welcome home to me,
Thou who art dear —
I've shed, since parted last from thee,
Many a tear.
But now while to thy bosom pressed
Care flies away, a banished guest—
Oh! ever thou hast made me blest,
While thou wert near.

How my heart was chilled with dread,
Lest harmed thou mightest be;
How started from my sleepless bed;
To offer prayer for thee.
Thy wanderings for a time, are done,
We hold thee safe, thou cherish'd one.

Lord, here in this secluded spot,
Where all I hear or feel or see,
The stream, the breeze, the glittering sky,
Tell me of their Creator—Thee—

Here in Thy tabernacle, I
Would fain pour out my soul to Thee;—
For Thou hast said, where one or two
Met in Thy praise, there Thou would'st be.

Oh! yes, the veriest wretch that lives,
If he will humbly lift his heart,
May snatch the seraph's glorious wings,
And in his transports hear a part.

Fear not, my soul, to tempt the flight—
Rely on promises divine;
The atonement of the dying Son,
Made God the Father, ever Thine.

Wirtten when her eyesight troubled her and her friends
expressed great pity and sympathy.

They tell me that I sit in gloom,
And say how much they pity me;
But there's a light unseen by them,
Is gleaming round me joyously.

It is the light of other days
When youth was mine, of sunny brightness;
And not a care had withering pressed
Upon my bosom's bounding lightness.

And oh! my mother's eye of black
Is gazing on me, fond and mild—
I hear her whispering voice again,
"Thou art my pride and joy, my child!"

Come nearer, father—it must be
Thine own tall form and noble brow—
My place was once within thy arms;—
Oh, father! take me to thine now!

My bridal days, my bridal days—
Ye are a rainbow unto me;
Earth offers not a charm so sweet
I'd take for one short dream of thee!

Then say not that I sit in gloom,
And say not that you pity me;
For there's a light unseen by all
Is gleaming round me joyously.

Unpublished Poems by Francis Scott Key

A Sketch of Francis S. Key, written by Mr. T. L. Bayne for the
Maryland Historical Society

An interesting episode in the life of Mr. Francis Scott Key¹ is presented in a brief history of his mission as federal commissioner to the State of Alabama in 1833, for the adjustment of the difficulties arising between the United States and that state relative to the occupancy of certain territory within the state claimed by the Creek tribe of Indians. Under a treaty made in 1832, the Creek Indians ceded their lands to the United States under certain conditions such as gave the option to the Indians of the time when they were to leave, or until the country was surveyed. After the treaty was made and it was understood that the land belonged to the United States and fell within the limits of the State of Alabama, many white people moved into the territory and settled there. The Legislature of Alabama divided the country into counties, and extended its jurisdiction over the state. The Deputy Marshal of the United States, at Fort Mitchell,² threatened to expel the settlers and was sustained in these threats by the authorities in Washington. Governor John Gayle, of the State of Alabama, earnestly remonstrated against the action of the marshal and of the federal government, claiming that the sovereignty of a state embraced the control of all people within her borders. General Lewis Cass, Secretary of War of the United States, ordered troops to Alabama, and volunteer companies within the state offered their services to the governor to resist the action of the marshal and of the troops sent to assist him. A collision between the federal and state authorities seemed inevitable, when Mr. Key was sent, as commissioner, to effect an adjustment of the matter with the governor. The excitement and irritation were such as to require the utmost tact and conservatism. Mr. Key exhibited his tact in a wonderful degree and by his frankness and courtesy earned the esteem of Governor Gayle, and of his wife, who was a lady of superior intelligence, and at once paved a way to an adjustment which was soon effected and closed the controversy.

¹Author of the words of "The Star Spangled Banner".

²A former American fortified post on the Chattahoochee River in the present Russell County, Alabama.

During Mr. Key's sojourn, he was a frequent visitor to the house of Governor Gayle, and during one of his visits wrote the following verses in the album of Governor Gayle's little daughter of nine years of age.

THE ROCK OF THEY SALVATION

To Miss Sarah A. Gayle.

If life's pleasures cheer thee,
Give them not thy heart
Lest the gifts ensnare thee
From thy God to part.

His praises speak, His favors seek,
Fix there thy hope's foundation;
Love Him and He shall ever be
The Rock of thy salvation.

If troubles e'er befall thee—
Painful though they be—
Let not fear appall thee,
To the Savior flee.

He, ever near thee, thy prayer will hear,
And calm thy perturbation;
The waves of woe shall ne'er o'erflow
The Rock of thy salvation.

Death shall never harm thee,
Shrink not from his blow;
For thy God shall arm thee,
And Victory bestow.

And death shall bring to thee no sting,
The grave no desolution;
'T is gain to die, with Jesus nigh—
The Rock of thy salvation.

After these verses were written, Mrs. Gayle on behalf of a niece of the Hon. William R. King, of Alabama, wrote the following petition to Mr. Key, and sent it with the lady's album, viz :

TO MR. F. S. KEY.

Thanks, gentle Fairy! Now my album take
And place it on his table e'er he wake
Then whisper that a maiden all unknown
Claims from the Poet's hand a trifling boon;
Trifling perchance, to him, but oh, not so
To her whose heart was thrilled long, long ago,
As his inspiring lays came to her ear
Lending the strangers name an interest dear.
A timid girl may yet be bold t' admire
The Poet's fervor and the Patriot's fire—
But 'tis not these. Tho' magical their pow'r—
They cannot brighten woman's sadden'd hour.
And she, the happiest,—has saddened hours
When all life's pathways are bereft of flowers
And her proud spirit feels, as felt by these
That to live always on this earth would be
For her, for none, no happy destiny.
Poet and Patriot! thou may'st write for fame,
But by a tenderer and holier name
I call thee—Christian! write thou here one lay
For me to read and treasure when thou art away.

THE REPLY

To Miss -----

And is it so? A thousand miles apart
Has lay of mine ere touched a gifted heart?
Brighten'd the eye of beauty? won her smile?
Rich recompense for the Poet's toil!

That favoring smile—that brighten'd eye
That tells the heart's warm ecstasy,
I have not seen—I may not see—
But maiden kind, thy gift shall be
A more esteemed and cherished prize
Than fairest smiles or brightest eyes.

And this rich trophy of the Poet's pow'r
Shall shine on many a lone and distant hour.
Praise from the fair, howe'er bestowed, we greet
In words, or looks outspeaking words—'tis sweet;
But when it breathes in bright and polished lays
Warm from a kindred heart—this, this is praise.

We are not strangers—in our hearts we own
Chords that must ever beat in unison.
The same touch wakens them. In all we see
Or hear, or feel, we own a sympathy.
We look where nature's charms in beauty rise
And the same transport glistens in our eyes.
The joys of others cheer us and we keep
A ready tear to weep with those who weep.

'Tis this that in the impassioned hour
Gives to the favored Bard the pow'r
As sweetly flows the stream of song,
To bear the raptur'd soul along.
And make it captive to his will
With all his own emotions thrill.

This is the tie that binds us—'tis the glow
The "gushing warmth" of hearts that Poet's know.

We are not strangers—well thy lines impart
The Patriot's feeling in the Poet's heart.
But e'en thy praise can make me vainly deem
That 'twas the Poet's power, and not his theme
That woke the heart's warm rapture, when from far
His song of Vict'ry caught thy fav'ring ear.
That vict'ry was thy country's, and his strain
Was of that starry banner that again
Had waved in triumph on the battle plain

Yes, though Columbia's land be wide,
Though Chesapeake's broad waters glide
Far distant from the forest shores
Where Alabama's current roars,
Yet, from all this land so fair
Still waves the flag of stripes and star,
Still on the Warrior's bank is seen
And shines on Coosa's valleys green,
By Alabama's maidens sung
With patriot heart and tuneful tongue.
Yes, I have looked around me here
And felt I was no foreigner.
Each friendly hand's frank offered clasp
Tells me it is a brother's grasp.

My own I deem these rushing floods
My own these wild and waving woods
(And to a Poet, Oh, how dear!)
My own songs sweetly chanted here
The joy with which these scenes I view,
Tells me this is my country too.
These sunny plains I freely roam,
I am no outcast from a home,
No wandrer on a foreign strand
"This is my own, my native land."

We are not strangers—still another tie
Binds us more closely, more enduringly.
The Poet's heart, though time his verse may save
Must chill with age—and perish in the grave.
The patriot, too, must close his watchful eye
Upon the land he loves, his latest sigh
All he has left to give it, ere he die.
But when the Christian faith in pow'r hath spoke
To the bow'd heart and the world's spell has broke,
That heart transformed—a never-dying flame
Warms with new energy, above the claim of death t'
 extinguish

Oh, if we had felt this holy influence
And have humbly knelt in penitence for pardon
Sought and found peace for each trouble, balm for
 every wound,

For us this faith this work of love hath shown
Not alike only are our hearts—they're one.
Our hopes and fears, sorrows and joys the same,
Our path, our course, one object all our aim.
Tho' sunder'd here, one home at last is given
Strangers on earth, but fellow-heirs of heaven

Yes, I will bear thou plausible strain afar,
A light to shine upon the clouds or care
A flower to cheer me in life's thorny ways
And I will think of her whose favoring lays
Kind greeting gave—and in the heart's best hour
For thee its warmest wishes shall pour.

And may I ask when this fair volume brings
Some thought of him who tried to wake the strings
Of his forgotten lyre at thy command,
(Command which warmed his heart and nerved his hand)
Thou wouldst for me, who in the world's wild strife
Is doomed to mingle 'mid the storms of life,
Give him the blessings of a Christian's care,
And raise in his defense thy shield of prayer.

He also wrote to Miss Gayle the following beautiful lines:

TO MISS SARAH A. GAYLE

Thine hand, fair little maiden—let me see
How run the mystic lines of destiny?
A Poet once (so ladies kindly said
Of the enthusiast their charms had made)
I may, though cold and dead the Poet's fire,
Touch with a kindred hand, the Prophet's lyre.
The face, too, I must look upon, for there
I once could read more plainly of the fair.
With hands and face, those tell-tales of the heart,
If I have not forgotten all my art
Some secrets of thy fate I may impart.

Now my divining's done—list to the lay
That tells the fortunes of thy future day.

Sarah Gayle! thy wilt be fair
So a thousand youths shall swear;
And beloved thou shalt be
And be-rhymed incessantly.

Light the task to lovers pale
To sing of lovely Sarah Gayle
Ne'er shall words or numbers fail
To sound the praise of Sarah Gayle.

See, from distant hills and dale,
They come to gaze on Sarah Gayle
And teach the Alabamian vale
To echo the name of Gayle.

When from distant lands they sail
'T is to catch a fav'ring Gayle.

In summer's heat they'll wish a Gayle,
And even in winter's storm and hail,
They'll still desire to have a Gayle.

If thou shalt frown, they'll sadly wail
With broken hearts for Sarah Gayle
And many a heavy cotton bale
They'd count light price for Sarah Gayle.

Sarah Gayle! Thou wilt be kind
And it may be some day inclined
To take a name more to thy mind
Than one that is so much be-rhymed.

Sarah Gayle! be wise as fair
E'er thou makest this change, beware!
And when thou givest an honored name
Give thy heart with it to the claim
Of one who comes with heart as pure
As that he seeks, and name as sure
Unstained and honored to endure.

Sarah Gayle! be good as fair,
Look to Heav'n, thy home is there—
May this be prophecy—it is my prayer.

The following description of Mr. Key is from the Journal of Mrs. Gayle (of 1833):

Mr. Key the District attorney for the District of Columbia, is here at present for the purpose of assisting to settle the Creek Controversy. He is very pleasant—intelligent—you at once perceive, and somewhat peculiar in his manners. He is a little, nay, a good deal absent in company, not always attending when others converse, and often abruptly breaking in with a question, though evidently unconscious of what he has done. His countenance is not remarkable when at rest, but as soon as he lifts his eyes, usually fixed upon some object near the floor, the man of sense of fancy and the POET is at once seen.

But the crowning trait of his character, I have just discovered—he is a Christian.

OLD PRACTICE IN MEDICINE

The Alabama Historical Quarterly has carried in several of its issues prescriptions used by pioneers as remedies for various ailments. In the private memoranda left by the late Judge A. A. Coleman, a distinguished citizen of Alabama from the founding of the State until his death in Birmingham in 1910, was found a number of such prescriptions including the following:

Cough Mixture & Croup

Tinc of Lobelia	one part
Paregoric	one part
Honey	two parts

40 grains of ipecac to two (2) ounces of alose.

Diarrhea Mixture

Spt Lavender	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce
Laudanum	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce
Ess. peppermint	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce
Tinc Ratonu	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce or Kino
Rubarb	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce
Hartshorn	$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce

Dose from 20 to 40 drops.

Bone-felon

One tablespoonful of salt
One tablespoonful of soft soap
One tablespoonful of turpentine
One tablespoonful of tallow
One tablespoonful of bees wax

Stewed together.

Cough Mixture for Baby

By Dr. L. H. Estell

One tea-spoonful powdered sperm
One tea-spoonful powdered brown sugar
 $\frac{1}{2}$ yolk of egg
Six teaspoonsful of water
One teaspoonful paregoric

Mix well together and give one teaspoonful three times a day.

1860

Ague Specific

By Dr. Peterson of Greensboro, Ala.

1 oz. pulv. red cinconah Bark
 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. pulv. cherry Bark
 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sulphur
 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. aromatic powders
One quart of Madeira Wine
Shake before using

Dose—small wine glass full before each meal.

Redemy for profuse menstruation

R/ Aluminis
Aqua Rosa
Syrup, simple
Syrup papar. alb

Dose one tablespoonful twice a day

For Profuse Menstruation

R For Dysentary

Ext Hyosyami

Sulph Quinine	....
	—	grs xii
	aa	

Gum camphor		grs v
pulv Opic —		grs iii

by T. C. Austin of Coopers Well.
12 pills.

Black Drops (for diarrhea or dysentary)

Opium	5 oz.
Camphor	5 oz.
Asacofetida	5 oz.
Els Pepper	5 oz.
Gum Aribic	5 oz.
Alcohol	4 pints
Water	4 pints

One teaspoonful 2 or 3 times a day.

Copper Pills For Dysentary

Sulphate copper	1/8 gr
Opium	1/8 gr

For Lichen or Eruption of the Skin

Iodide Potash	1 oz
Gallon of water	1 gallon
Whiskey	1 pint

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ALABAMA CONFERENCE

By Norman McLeod

(This paper was read at the session of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church held in the First Methodist Church, Montgomery, Ala., November 11-12, 1942.)

On this grand anniversary occasion which marks the one hundred and fiftieth birthday of the Annual Conference in Methodism we follow briefly the history of one of the basic bodies in the Church. The first General Conference of The Methodist Church in North America was held in 1792. It was in this same Conference that James O'Kelly, a Presiding Elder, proposed that, when the list of appointments was read in the Conference, if any preacher was not pleased with his assignment he might appeal to the Conference. The first General Conference did not agree with Mr. O'Kelly, but this brother would be pleased with what happens in the Alabama Conference on Friday afternoon of its Annual Session, when every preacher is told by his District Superintendent where he is assigned for the next year.

For this observance year our particular interest in this paper centers in the Alabama Conference, which now is holding its one hundred and tenth session. It should be its one hundred and eleventh session but for the fact that a conference session was not held in 1844. That Conference year extended from December 1843 to February 1845.

The Alabama Conference was organized on December 13, 1832 at Tuscaloosa, Alabama under the presidency of Bishop J. O. Andrew, who also presided over the last session before the Conference was divided into the Montgomery and Mobile Conferences. The General Conference fixed the boundaries of the Alabama Conference to include all the State of Alabama not included in the Tennessee Conference, West Florida and the counties of Jackson, Greene, Wayne, Clarke, Lauderdale, Kemper, Noxubee, Loundes, and that part of Monroe east of the Tombigbee River in the State of Mississippi. At the first session of the Conference six preachers were received on trial, ten continued on trial, five admitted into full connection, five ordained deacons, three ordained elders, two located, two were supernumerated and two superannuated.

On December 18, 1832 in a meeting held for the purpose the preachers of the Conference organized themselves for the purpose of helping their brethren as follows: The Preachers' Society of the Alabama Conference. The Constitution adopted declared: "The object of this Society shall be to create a fund, the proceeds of which, after the capital amounts to two thousand five hundred dollars, may be appropriated to the relief of such preachers as may be peculiarly necessitous. Every travelling preacher of the Alabama Annual Conference, who shall pay two dollars and fifty cents annually shall be a member of this Society; and the payment of fifty dollars at one time shall constitute a member for life." Four years later at the Conference held in Mobile this Preachers' Fund Society held a meeting at which it was reported that the money in hand amounted to seven hundred and ninety-nine dollars and sixty-four cents. There was nothing to disburse since according to the constitution twenty-five hundred dollars must be accumulated before any money could be distributed among the needy preachers. The subsequent history of this Society is lost sight of. One hundred and ten years ago the Alabama Conference was thinking of underpaid preachers as we thought of them two years ago when we took action in their behalf.

The closing session of the Conference in 1832 was marred by Rev. Job Foster, an eccentric, who while Bishop Andrew was solemnly dispensing the Holy Communion marched up and down the aisle of the church with such "vehemence as to endanger life and limb, and frighten and disgust the audience; all this in the name of religion and the assumption of ecstasy." It is recorded that the preachers maintained their solemn reverence in the midst of it all; and the Conference proceeded to the finale.

In 1835 the Conference met again in Tuscaloosa. Rev. Stephen F. Pilley was recommended for admission on trial into the travelling connection. Even the Presiding Elder, who officially presented the recommendation opposed the reception of the applicant. Objections were urged against Brother Pilley on the following grounds: "First, he had been a member of a Theatrical Troupe, was a good fiddler, loved fun and frolic and it would be impossible for him to attain the gravity and the influence of a minister of the gospel. Second, he was a married man with a wife and one child." A young man, Rev. A. C. Ramsey, at the end of one year's membership in the Conference and who was the pastor of the circuit

recommending Brother Pilley for admission met this barrage of opposition with a stout defense resorting to argumentum ad hominem. Brother Pilley was admitted.

At Wetumpka, Alabama, on Wednesday, February 26, 1845 the Alabama Conference met and adjourned on the next Wednesday, March 5, 1845. "These are the correct dates," says Dr. West, "all statements wheresoever found to the contrary notwithstanding." Bishop Andrew presided, being invited by Bishop Soule. The General Conference of 1844 had asked Bishop Andrew not to exercise the office of a bishop as long as he owned slaves. Despite this action Bishop Soule asked Bishop Andrew to preside. The Alabama Conference took a strong stand in behalf of the position taken by the Southern delegates in the recent General Conference and appointed delegates to the projected convention in Louisville where the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was organized in May 1845. The delegation representing the Alabama Conference in this convention at Louisville, Kentucky was headed by Massachusetts born Jefferson Hamilton. Also in the delegation were Thomas O. Summers, A. H. Mitchell, E. V. LeVert, E. Hearn, W. Murrah, J. Boring, G. Shaeffer, and C. McLeod. Let us never forget to state, when we are writing about this era in Methodism that at the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South held in 1846, New England born Bishop Joshua Soule, the senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, offered himself to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and was accepted as a bishop. The appointments received at Wetumpka by the preachers on March 5, 1845 were the last appointments made in Alabama under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At that time there were in the State about forty-seven thousand members, nearly a third of whom were slaves. The change to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was almost unanimously accepted in Alabama despite the persistence of some abolitionists who retarded the peaceful work of Methodism.

The year 1846 marked an increased interest in evangelism throughout the Conference. Many revivals were held and many added to the churches. At the Conference held in Tuscaloosa in 1853 presided over, according to Dr. West, by Rev. Greenberry Garrett, because Bishop Robert Paine was detained at home by affliction in his household and according to our Conference Journal presided over by Bishop Capers, great missionary enthusiasm was

manifested. Dr. West says the session of the Conference held in 1850 was at Columbus, Mississippi. Dr. West and our Conference Journal are in disagreement here. According to Dr. West the Conferences were held as follows: 1850 at Columbus, Mississippi; 1851 at Auburn, Alabama; 1852 at Mobile, Alabama. According to Conference Journal these Conferences were held as follows: 1850 at Auburn, Alabama; 1851 at Mobile, Alabama; 1852 at Marion, Alabama. We mention the Conference of 1850 for the purpose of stating that what later became in the Discipline provision for a Joint Board of Finance was adopted as a financial plan by the Conference as follows: "There shall be a Joint Board of Finance composed of one lay member from each District in the Conference, an equal number of ministers and a chairman." At the 1852 session of the Conference held at Mobile it was announced that the Alabama Conference had gone beyond all the Conferences of the connection in the amounts contributed to Missions and had taken the honor that hitherto was held by the South Carolina Conference. Great revivals had swept through the State and the Sunday Schools had flourished. In 1854 the claimants were paid ninety-two cents on the dollar. The Conference of 1857 at Selma received about seven thousand dollars in bequests which were turned over to the legal Conference. When the Confederacy collapsed these seven thousand dollars collapsed with it for they were in Confederate securities.

Meeting in Columbus, Mississippi, on November 25, 1863 the Alabama Conference resolved to divide itself into two Conferences, one to be called the Montgomery and the other the Mobile. The Montgomery Conference included West Florida, except Apalachicola, and all of Alabama east of the line beginning at the mouth of the Mobile River, thence up that and the Alabama River to Selma, thence up the Railroad to Montevallo, thence along said river to the eastern line of Blount County, and along the said line to the Southern boundary of the Tennessee Conference. The Mobile Conference included what was left. These two Conferences continued their separate existence for six years, holding their final sessions in 1869. In 1870 these two Conferences went into the making of the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences which exist to this day. This year also the Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South organized themselves into the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

EDUCATION

On January 11, 1830 LaGrange College in Franklin County, Alabama jointly controlled by the Tennessee and Mississippi Conferences opened its doors to students. The Methodists were in advance of all other denominations. LaGrange College was the first college chartered in the State of Alabama. In 1855 LaGrange College was moved to Florence, Alabama. The name was changed to Florence Wesleyan University and it flourished at Florence until it was interrupted by the War between the States.

The first educational enterprise of higher learning the Alabama Conference undertook on its own was Centenary Institute. Funds were raised during the celebration of the Centenary of Methodism in 1839 and the college was built at Summerfield in Dallas County. Dr. A. H. Mitchell was called from Emory College, Georgia to be its first president. On October 16, 1843 the Centenary Institute opened its session with encouraging prospects. Its services continued down past the crisis of 1861-5 and many of our preachers were educated within its walls.

The Oakbowery Female Institute came under the control and patronage of the Alabama Conference in 1849. In 1855 the Alabama Conference Female College at Tuskegee was founded. The year before, namely 1854, the Conference took over from the Masons a fine building for school purposes at Talladega and ran there as the "Talladega Conference Institute" for a few years. Success was not achieved by it and in 1858 it was turned over to the State of Alabama and used as a School for Deaf-mutes and Blind. At this same session of the Alabama Conference held in Talladega in 1854 the Conference took action looking to the establishment of a Male College in South Alabama. The matter was brought up by a memorial from the citizens of Auburn, Alabama and its vicinity. A commission was appointed to receive propositions for the location of the College. This commission reported to the Conference held in 1855 at Eutaw. The people of Auburn and vicinity, with whom originated the memorial for a College, firmly believed the College would be located there, for they met every requirement officially set forth by the Conference. "Strange as it may seem the form of the Districts so governed the selection of the commissioners as to give a greater number, who, by their alliances, were in sympathy with the interests of Greensboro."

Three days were occupied almost exclusively by the Conference in debating the question of locating the College. O. R. Blue was the champion favoring Auburn; A. H. Mitchell favored Greensboro and gave bitter offense to the people of East Alabama. In the end a college was established at Greensboro and Auburn for the people of Auburn and vicinity had gone so far with the enterprise they felt they could not turn back. Both Colleges were opened in 1859, and at the Conference of that year held in Eufaula, over the strenuous protests of friends of Greensboro, and led by Dr. O. R. Blue, the East Alabama Male College was taken under the supervision and fostering care of the Alabama Conference. This College did a fine work for many years until it was given to the State of Alabama and in 1872 it became the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The College at Greensboro continued into the twentieth century and "closed her glorious history of more than sixty years in the town of Greensboro on June 2, 1918." That year Southern University was merged with Birmingham College, becoming Birmingham-Southern College, which is going strong to this day.

The Methodists also were pioneers in High School work in Alabama. The educational statistics for 1895 show two colleges, one male and one female, and six District High Schools.

In 1901 only four District High Schools are reported and in 1904 the educational statistics show no High Schools at all. In 1909 the Female College at Tuskegee was moved to Montgomery and the name was changed to Woman's College of Alabama. In 1934 this name was changed to Huntingdon College after Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, who founded a sect of Calvinistic Methodists, known as the Countess of Huntingdon Connection which in 1910 consisted of forty-four churches and twenty-six ordained pastors.

Some time between the years 1905-12 the Alabama Conference became related to the Seashore Camp Ground and Divinity School located on the Mississippi Coast near Biloxi. I did not have available the Minutes for the Conference sessions of 1906-11 inclusive. Therefore I am unable to trace in this paper the connection of the Alabama Conference with the Seashore Camp Ground and Divinity School. Also I am unable to give the exact relationship which existed between the Alabama Conference and the Coley-Black-

shear School located at Hadley, Alabama. The bishop made certain appointments for a few years to this School.

In 1912 the Alabama Conference took under its control and supervision the Downing-Shofner School at Brewton and the Thomas Industrial and Agricultural School at DeFuniak Springs, Florida. The Thomas Industrial Institute passed out by liquidation in 1924. Likewise, twelve years later in 1936 no trustees are appointed for the Downing-Shofner School. An educational survey commission of 1934 recommended that the Alabama Conference discontinue all relations with Downing-Shofner Institute, instructing the Board of Trustees to relinquish all assets of the School to those having legal claims to them.

ORPHANAGE

The Alabama Conference with the North Alabama Conference at their sessions in 1889 appointed commissioners to establish an institution for orphan children in Alabama. The Orphanage was opened at Summerfield in January 1890 and received its first child in September of that year. This home was begun in the buildings of Centenary Institute which had ceased operation some time before and continued in Summerfield until 1911, when it was moved to Selma into the buildings of the Selma Military Institute which with ten acres of land were purchased for twenty-two thousand five hundred dollars (\$22,500.00).

In 1938 the name was changed from Alabama Methodist Orphanage to the Methodist Children's Home. The value of the property in 1941 was one hundred forty-five thousand and ninety-five dollars (\$145,095.00) according to the Conference Journal and two hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine dollars and twenty-seven cents (\$212,969.27) according to the pamphlet published by the Home the same year.

HOSPITAL

The establishment of Methodist Hospitals in Atlanta, St. Louis and Nashville led the Alabama Conference into this field of service. By 1912 there was a Hospital Commission. In 1913 a property located at Enterprise, Alabama was offered the Conference for hospital purposes. The Journal of 1914 says nothing

about its acceptance. In 1915 the report of the Hospital Commission was referred to the Joint Board of Finance which in turn reported in favor of it. What the report was we do not know as it was not printed in the Journal. The matter was dropped in 1917, no commission being appointed that year. A revival of hospital interest came in 1922 with a recommendation for the organization of Golden Cross Chapters in each Church. A Hospital Board was appointed that year. This Board reported to the Conference of 1923 that Montgomery Memorial Hospital had been given to our Church and conveyed to the General Hospital Board which turned the enterprise over jointly to the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences. The property came in with an indebtedness of fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000.00). At the Conference of 1924 the Hospital Board asked that the Conference raise seventy-five thousand dollars (\$75,000.00) for the building fund the next year. The Hospital was opened January 15, 1925. In 1926 the General Hospital Board relinquished the responsibility for the Montgomery Memorial Hospital to the two Alabama Conferences and a bond issue of two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars (\$225,000.00) was authorized to pay for indebtedness and improvements. In 1927 the Hospital Board asked and were given permission by the Alabama Conference to issue three hundred and eighty thousand dollars (\$380,000.00) in bonds to retire the bonds for two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars (\$225,000.00) issued the year before, the Conference to guarantee the bonds as to principal and interest and to levy an annual assessment of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) on account of the interest on said bonds. In 1928 the Hospital Board was given the authority to issue bonds for five hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$550,000.00) to deposit an amount sufficient to care for the three hundred and eighty thousand dollars (\$380,000.00) in bonds previously issued. The Conference guaranteed the bonds as to principal and interest. A special session of the Alabama Conference was held in April 1929 which inaugurated a special fund raising campaign to retire the bonds. At the fall session of the Conference a financial campaign was authorized to raise two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000.00) in the early part of 1930. This campaign yielded in cash and subscriptions twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000.00). The Conference borrowed fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000.00) for the Hospital. This amount plus sixty thousand dollars (\$60,000.00) for running expenses, were reported to the Conference of 1931 as being due. The Hospital was closed.

The North Alabama Conference withdrew, relinquishing its claims to the Hospital. In 1932 the General Hospital Board undertook the operation of the Hospital but did not assume the bonded indebtedness, the floating debts and direct obligation of the Conference for the fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000.00) borrowed. However, something intervened and the General Board did not reopen the Hospital. In 1934 the Receiver reported that the bondholders would accept settlement of two hundred and ten thousand dollars (\$210,000.00) for the five hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$550,000.00) in bonds. The unpaid salary indebtedness then amounted to sixty-eight thousand dollars (\$68,000.00) and a debt of forty-five thousand dollars (\$45,000.00) was still due for money borrowed for interest. A sufficient sum was levied upon the Conference to care for the interest on the above mentioned two hundred and ten thousand dollars (\$210,000.00). The Conference of 1935 leased the Hospital to a Montgomery physician. A ten thousand dollar (\$10,000.00) levy was placed on the Conference and a financial agent was put in the field. The ensuing financial campaign was disappointing and the Conference of 1936 voted to release all claims upon the Hospital and turn it back to the bondholders. Subsequently the Hospital was leased to the State of Alabama for ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) a year with an option to buy the property for two hundred and ten thousand dollars (\$210,000.00). We end this sad story by saying that the State exercised the right of its option and purchased the property for two hundred and ten thousand dollars (\$210,000.00), but the Conference is paying on the fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000.00) borrowed for interest to this day.

ALABAMA CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

The Alabama Conference jointly with the North Alabama Conference began the publication of the Alabama Christian Advocate. The first issue was dated May 25, 1881 with Dr. Allen S. Andrews as editor. The present Editor of the Advocate is the twentieth Editor of that publication. The Conference of 1930 held in Mobile observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Publishing House and fiftieth anniversary of the Alabama Christian Advocate with Dr. J. L. Decell, Editor of the New Orleans Christian Advocate as the chief speaker. The chief speaker on that occasion is our presiding bishop on this one. Bishop Decell at this Conference presides for the fifth time over the Alabama Conference. He

is the only Bishop in our history to preside over our conference for five years successively.

AND SO FORTH

In 1895 the largest amount paid to a superannuate was three hundred and twenty-six dollars (\$326.00). In 1941 the largest amount received from the Conference by a superannuate was two hundred and ten dollars (\$210.00).

The first secretary of the Alabama Conference was Seymour B. Sawyer, who was admitted in 1832, the year the Conference was organized. He was secretary until his death in 1843.

In 1921 the Conference voted upon recommendation of the Joint Board of Finance to pay one hundred dollars (\$100.00) toward the funeral expenses of each deceased minister and fifty dollars (\$50.00) on the funeral expenses of each deceased widow of a minister and fifty dollars (\$50.00) on the funeral expenses of the wife of a superannuated minister.

In 1925 the Conference voted one hundred and ninety-seven to seventy-three against the plan of Unification then before the Church. The Conference, with Bishop Candler presiding, chose to take the vote by yeas and nays. The secretary called the roll of members but did not record the names of those voting yea and those voting nay in the Conference Journal.

In 1934 on the constitutional question providing that a presiding elder, after serving a term in that office may not be appointed again to that office until having served four years in some other capacity, was sustained by an overwhelming vote in the Conference, two hundred and twenty-three voting yes and twelve voting no.

In 1937, with Bishop Hay presiding, the Conference voted for Unification, two hundred and six for the plan to fifty-nine against it. In 1925, 276 members voted; in 1937, 265 members voted.

In 1845 Montgomery Methodism had two hundred and twelve white members. In 1941 there were reported seven thousand and sixty-two members. I suppose they are all white.

In 1939 at the Alabama Conference session held here in this Church, we were joined in the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church by our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Protestant Church. In an impressive ritual, led by Bishop Decell, the members and ministers of the three uniting churches, joined in a declaration of unity, fellowship and love. Each uniting Church surrendered its individual name and the three became one as the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church. This Conference is the fourth of our united efforts to bring the Kingdom in.

PERSONAL SKETCH

One of the interesting personal sketches of the Alabama Conference centers around the Rev. Thomas O. Summers. He was born in England in 1812, came to this country in 1830, began preaching in 1834 and at the time of this sketch was thirty-one years old and unmarried. It was a time of camp meetings in Alabama. In the year 1843 Mr. Summers had come from the Republic of Texas into Alabama to seek funds for the erection of churches in Galveston and Houston, Texas. This camp meeting he was attending was located between the towns of Greensboro and Marion. It was situated near the home of a Mr. De Yampert. Mr. De Yampert was both a local preacher and very wealthy. Dr. Lovick Pierce then a pastor in Mobile came up to the camp meeting to do the preaching. His fame had reached the homes of all the surrounding dwellers and everybody was eager to hear the noted preacher. Mr. Summers brought with him from Texas some horned frogs which he had preserved in alcohol and placed them on exhibition at the camp meeting. He not only was hunting funds for the erection of churches in Texas but he was also in search of a wife. During the week he was asked to preach and Mr. De Yampert thought that he made a complete failure of it. When Sunday drew nigh and Dr. Lovick Pierce was sick and unable to preach, the question arose as to who would fill the place. The presiding elder called a group together in Mr. De Yampert's tent and there the question of the preacher for Sunday was to be settled. When the presiding elder proposed that Mr. Summers preach, Mr. De Yampert put his foot down on it and would not have it so. The meeting adjourned without definitely fixing the appointment, the presiding elder thinking he would do the preaching if Dr. Pierce was unable to do it. Sunday came and people

from everywhere, rich and poor, black and white, of all conditions, flocked to the camp meeting. The presiding elder got a little nervous when Dr. Pierce was not allowed by his physician to preach and at the last minute asked Mr. Summers to preach. The Rev. Thomas O. Summers preached that day and did a good job for his Lord and Master. Later he was introduced to Miss Marsilla Sexton in Tuscaloosa. That fall he attended the Texas Conference, received a transfer to the Alabama Conference, and was appointed to the Tuscaloosa charge where he arrived after a week's journey early in January. Later that month he and Miss Marsilla Sexton were happily married. The frogs, the collection for the Texas churches, and his visit to Alabama proved to be high experiences for this servant of God, who attained eminence in his Church. At his death he was a professor in Vanderbilt University and lies buried in the city cemetery of Nashville. The record of his life is contained in our Conference necrology list which shows that he was admitted in 1835 (came to our Conference in 1843), died in 1882 as a member of the Alabama Conference.

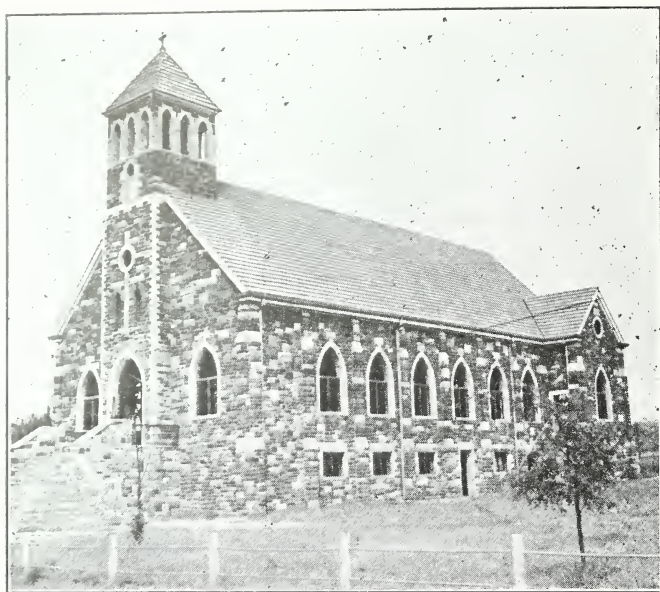
CONCLUSION

We have hastily surveyed the history of the Alabama Conference which began one hundred and ten years ago. Through the years faithful men and faithful women have carried on the work of the Lord through the organized life of the Alabama Conference. We salute them tonight for their courageous devotion to the cause of the Master and pledge to them and to Christ our Lord, our faithful service in the years to come as we carry on in the same Conference where they served and may our success in building the Kingdom of Righteousness be as effective for our day as was theirs in the day when they lived.

We do not feel that we have said what we had to say. In looking over these pages we can hardly believe that it is all that the feelings and thoughts with which we began it have produced. But, such as it is, let it go out to the world, to be rebuked where it errs, to be unheeded where it is feeble, to be blessed where it is true and strong.

And now, adorable Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, descend upon all our Churches, renew the Pentecost in this our age, and baptize thy people generally—O, baptize them yet

again with tongues of fire! Crown this era with a revival of "pure and undefiled religion" greater than that of the last century, greater than that of the first, greater than any "demonstration of the Spirit" ever yet vouchsafed to men. (See last two paragraphs of Arthur's *Tongue of Fire*)



The new church dedicated 1941



St. Mark's Catholic Church,
Pratt City, built 1906.

ST. MARK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH

By Marion Tortomase

St. Mark's Church, founded in the fall of 1906, may be called the mother church of many churches of the Catholic denomination in Jefferson County. When the church was first organized the services were held in the home of one of the members in East Thomas.

Rev. J. B. Canepa was the first priest and still is the pastor. He was born in Genoa, Italy, some sixty years ago. He came to America in 1905 and in the same year to Birmingham. In Birmingham he organized a small church. Many of his friends were of his nationality, and this enabled him to help those who could not speak English. His members took a liking to Father Canepa at once. Because there was no Catholic church in East Thomas Father Canepa said his first Mass in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Naro, on the first Sunday in June, 1905. About fifty people attended the Mass. The following persons were present:

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Naro	Mr. & Mrs. Ben Schillaci
Mr. & Mrs. Tony Brookalere	Mr. & Mrs. Tony Cinao
Mr. & Mrs. Felice DeLionardo	Mr. & Mrs. Phillip Naro
Mr. & Mrs. Anthonino Fraficanti	Mr. & Mrs. Joe Ferlici
Mr. & Mrs. Salvatori Montabano	Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Latino
Mr. & Mrs. Santo Giamalva	Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Joya
Mr. & Mrs. Pascquali Triolo	Mr. & Mrs. Joe Lombardo
Mr. & Mrs. Benardo Romano	Mr. & Mrs. Joe Buzanca
Mr. & Mrs. Anthonino Lucia	Mr. & Mrs. Riolio Alesci
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Schilleci	Mr. & Mrs. Stefano Lovoy
Mr. & Mrs. Jasper Pocopanni	Mr. & Mrs. Nardo Larussa
Mr. & Mrs. Sam Monella	

This small group did all they could to build a church. The members formed a committee which consisted of Father Canepa and Joseph Naro as Chairman, and Jasper Pocopanni as Secretary. Each member gave as much time and money as his budget could spare. The women made and sold crocheted scarfs, knitted clothes, and embroidered pieces.

By 1906 the congregation of St. Mark's had accumulated

enough money to build a small frame building. The ground was donated by the Republic Steel Corporation of Thomas. More money was raised to finish the building and to provide furnishings by a feast in honor of the "Immaculate Conception". This was on August 15, 1906, when about \$700 was realized.

The first Mass in the new little building was said on May 3rd, 1906. Over 60 people attended this service. The first couple married in the church was Mr. & Mrs. Jasper Lonza; the first baby baptized was Joseph Ciano; the first funeral was that of Mr. Joseph Naro.

This little church which began with fewer than fifty people, still carries on. It has now more than 600 members. Just recently a handsome, new stone church was built. Father Canepa has held this dream for years and it was with a great deal of pride and joy that he saw it become a reality. This new building was dedicated in September, 1941.

The daughter churches of St. Mark's are found scattered over Jefferson County. The first one, St. Joseph, is in Ensley; the last one, Immaculate Heart of Mary, is in Hillview. These daughter churches, began like their mother church, St. Mark's. They are having all the struggles that young churches usually have. Some day they too will enjoy the well-earned blessings of a dream accomplished and point with pride to a job well done.

CHIEF JUSTICE ABRAM JOSEPH WALKER

By Lucien D. Gardner, Chief Justice

Abram Joseph Walker was the eleventh Chief Justice of the State of Alabama. He followed much the same course in his rise to the highest position on the judiciary of the State as the other lawyers of his day. There was nothing spectacular in his career, yet his life was a full and useful one—not without incident—and his contribution to the due administration of justice in our State was a most substantial one.

His opinions upon the Court indicate soundness of judgment and a good clean, logical mind, and his expressions are couched in clear and unmistakable language. He was, indeed, a good judge. In addition to this service upon the Court, he compiled, under appointment of Governor Patton, the Code of 1867—a most tedious task; and the Code itself is evidence of the painstaking effort involved, and of the highly skillful manner in which he executed this assignment.

Abram Walker was born on November 24, 1819, in the small Tennessee village of Madison, of good and substantial Anglo-Saxon stock, the son of Matthew Patton and Agnes Hope Walker. The father was a well-to-do farmer of his section, and he provided his son with a good early education. Young Walker prepared himself for a teaching career, and was graduated at the age of 18 from the University of Tennessee. He taught school for a period of two years, but not finding his chosen profession to his liking, he entered the law office of John Trimble in Nashville, where for two years he pursued the study of law. In 1841 he successfully passed the examination for the Bar in Nashville.

Several months after being admitted to the Bar, he removed to Alabama and settled in Jacksonville. As is the case with so many members of the legal profession, he could not resist the lure of politics, and with his election in 1845 to the legislature from Calhoun County, he had reached the first rung in the ladder in his rise to the position of Chief Justice. He was active in the presidential campaign in 1848. In 1851 he advanced from his seat in the House to the Senate. It was while Abram Walker was here at Jacksonville that he met and married in 1847 Sarah Ann

Nisbet, the daughter of John and Nancy Nisbet of that section.

In 1852 he removed to Talladega, there forming a law partnership with General John T. Morgan; and a few years later he was elected chancellor of the northern division by the general assembly. He resigned this position in 1856, for he had been elected the previous year to a position on the Supreme Court, to fill the seat vacated by the resignation of Justice William P. Chilton. Three years after serving as Justice on this Court he was elected Chief Justice upon the resignation of Judge Samuel F. Rice. He was twice elected to this post without opposition, and there served until July, 1868, when he was evicted under the reconstruction measures.

After his eviction from the Supreme Court, he resumed the practice of law in Montgomery and practiced there until his untimely death in 1872 at the age of 53.

OTHER DAYS

An Account of Plantation Life on
Chunnennuggee Ridge
before The War Between the States

By Eliza J. Kendrick (Lewis) Walker

(This issue of the Alabama Historical Quarterly presents the last part of Mrs. Walker's account of her experiences and personal recollections. The Summer Issue, 1941, of this magazine presented the first part of the story and the Spring Issue, 1943, carried the second portion.)

There are incidents connected with the Civil War period which are fresher in my mind than the events of recent occurrence. I am not attempting any discussion of the historical import of that War, the truth of which has never, so far, been written in any books that I have seen. The South, at the hand of the modern historian, has never been treated fairly; and what the North did has been entirely overestimated. But I can speak of the time when the invader was awaited; I can speak of the destruction as he passed. . . . It was doing the armistice that Grierson's command moved along the peaceful Ridge, where the defenceless women and children, and the old men felt themselves at the mercy of the bayonet, the torch, and rapine. My mother and I were returning from a neighboring plantation when we learned of the enemy's proximity. To evade him, we took a circuitous route, and drove at breakneck speed, our trusted negro coachman as our only protector. On our way we passed the farm of an old man who rushed out of the house and, with arms lifted in warning, inquired of our route. He felt that we were driving straight towards the enemy. My mother, with her head barely visible through the door of the carriage, asked for any information that the man could give her in regard to the enemy's location. "Where are the Yankees?" she asked, in the hope that the wild rumor of their nearness was not true. But with arms still uplifted, and with blazing eyes, he replied in a voice which I long remembered, "My God! They are everywhere!" My mother had an unusual sense of humor, and as terrified as she was over the situation, she actually laughed as she bade the coachman to drive faster. We felt as if we were riding between guns, but reached our home safely, where we found the slaves terrified at the rumor of the enemy's approach. In less than two hours he was at our door. We had barely finished the work of closing and fastening shutters and barring doors when a number

of Yankee horsemen dashed up to the front door, dismounted, and with spurs clanking, demanded that food be set out for them. They said that they were the advance guard, would have to hurry on, and that the command would be about two hours in passing. They could give us no protection, and soon mounted their horses, and dashed off, breaking off branches of the trees, and leaving them on the ground to guide the Army. As the front door swung to, barred as best we could, my mother and I secreted ourselves and watched through a half-closed shutter for the first sight of the Bluecoats. None of the servants would allow themselves to be seen. The house gave no sign of life. . .

. . . We heard them coming from afar, the unmistakable tread of marching men. It grew in sound like the rush of many waters. For an hour there was no break in the lines, a solid, steady stream of Bluecoats. Then, we knew when a sharp command had been given, as cavalymen drew rein and turned their guns upon the house. Through the shutter, behind which my mother and I were crouching, we saw the unbroken line of horsemen and the glitter of steel. Under the terms of the armistice they could not fire, but they could invade and terrify. And suddenly a detachment broke through the gate, rode madly into the grounds, were soon followed by others, charging back and forth. "Thick as the Yankees in my front yard," my mother used to say when the War was over. Then came the heavy pounding on the doors and the loud command, "Open!" In one of the rooms there was a broken pane in a back window and it was through this small aperture that my mother, with amazing fearlessness, spoke to them. "There is an armistice," she told them, "I will not open any doors and you dare not break them down." She was met with curses and with threats of the torch. But even the threat of the torch and the Army at her door did not shake her courage. She defied them to the end on the ground that during a lull in hostilities they dared not burn. . . But the work of destruction now began. To the carriage house where they tore off the silver mounting and slashed the cushions; to the dairy, where they helped themselves; to the smoke-house where they found hams and bacon to their liking; to the barns where they turned out the stock and left corn cribs empty. Doors were torn from their hinges; gates broken down. Everywhere they went was marked by devastation. And while this destruction went on before our eyes, the Army kept moving down the road. The afternoon wore on, but not until

nightfall did quiet come to the roadside. Through the dusk we could see some straggling figure going by—the stragglers that follow every Army. And when darkness came, the faithful servants ventured from their hiding places, many of them weeping over the devastation which they now saw. Together, mistress and slave looked out upon desolation and ruin . . .

Our anxieties now lay for the welfare of my uncle and aunt, Judge and Mrs. Hughes. Uncle Hughes was too old to be with the fighting forces, but many of the old gentlemen of the South were hung up by their thumbs in the effort to make them give up any valuables that may have been hidden on hearing of the enemy's approach. The silver had been buried weeks before, in the dead of night, by torchlight,* but the Hughes' plantation gave such evidence of opulency as to become a sure prey for the enemy. And there the greatest havoc was made, the Army camping on the plantation for three days**, and making the house headquarters. We were cut off from all communication, but knew that the command was in complete possession. And so the days passed—days which seemed like years. . .

Sarah Ann Watson Coleman Hughes

. . . From a faded picture of the Civil War period. The Union Army destroyed her plantation and carried off her slaves. She was practically a prisoner in her own house. She always referred to that time as the "Reign of Terror".

My eyes now beheld a strange, unforgettable sight. The Blue-coats had broken camp and were again on the march. Down the road they came, and with them all of the slaves from the Hughes' plantation, journeying, as they thought, to the promised land. I saw them as they trudged the main road, many of the women with babes in their arms. . . old and young, men, women and children. Some of them fared better than others. A negro woman, Laura, my aunt's fancy seamstress, rode Mrs. Hughes' beautiful pony, sitting the red plush saddle of her mistress. The Hughes' family

*Some of the silver is in my possession. All of it was dug up after the War, but a few of the rarest pieces were disposed of to meet the emergency of that time.

**The Army broke camp probably earlier, but the Hughes' felt themselves prisoners as long as a straggler remained.

carriage, driven by Taliaferro, the old coachman, and filled with blue-coated soldiers and negroes, passed in state, and this was followed by other vehicles. I remember seeing one of the top-buggies that belonged to a young cousin, John Coleman, piled with a motley crowd, and that my mother remarked, "There goes Johnny's buggy," as if it was a most cherished possession. All of this I saw with streaming eyes, keyed to the highest tension of suspense for some direct tidings of Judge and Mrs. Hughes. . . . Then, when the last Bluecoat had vanished, a lady, still clad in faded silk, ventured once more to reach the highway along which the dramatic exodus of her slaves had just made a turning point in history. But even the now empty highway held terrors for an unprotected woman, and only some hidden path in the woods seemed safe. A detour, following the most unfrequented ways, leaving devastation and pillage, only to meet it in worse form, she hastened on—this lady of the Old South—my dear aunt! . . .

From her own lips, my mother and I learned the story. "All have gone, but one,—one who refused to go—Caroline. And there are four little girls hidden in the grain fields. They wanted to stay, and I slipped them to the wheat". She had managed to get food to them, but they were still hiding. Their parents had gone with the Army, and later a small detachment had ridden back, guided by Mrs. Hughes' butler, to get these four little girls, whose names, strange to say, come back to me as I write.* A search was made for them on both the Hughes plantation and on my mother's and the threat of the torch was again made in the effort to force my aunt to reveal their where-about. . . . Cabins, with wide-open doors. . . . deserted fields. Where once had been mirth and plenty was now only a deep silence and ruin . . .

Many of the slaves who went down the road so gaily that day came back to the old plantation. Many died from the exposure and hardship later endured of their ill-fated venture. Many of them dropped from fatigue by the wayside. Judge Hughes, the old master, received sad tidings from some of them, begging to come back, and he went as far as fifty miles to get them. . . . Taliaferro

*The four little negro girls, Jennie, Fannie, Molly and Laura, had performed such heavy duties as getting Mrs. Hughes' work basket or handing her a drink of water.

was among the most anxious to return, but when he did get back his health was gone and he was never the same again, although so well cared for by his former master. The parents of the four little girls were glad enough to return home, and so were many others. In every instance, the condition of the negroes who returned to their old homes was pitiful. Neglect, starvation, long marches, exposure, disappointment of the promised land had been their experience.

The South faced her ordeal in the last despairing months of the war with patient resolve. Every bit of news from the front was awaited breathlessly. Almost every home was in mourning. Within two miles of the plantation the trains were now running, and we could get the latest news from a tattered and worn Army. No matter how discouraging it was, we hoped eagerly to hear better news the next day. Not one of us could believe that our great commander, the great Lee, would surrender. Above Lee, was the Cause, which we felt could not die. . .

Then came the awful news! Down the road I hurried, with the fateful words ringing in my ears, and saying aloud, as I went, thinking of the heroic dead, "All for naught! All for naught!" The Confederate Army, which we looked upon as invincible, had been vanquished! Appomattox! An April day in 1865 . . .

. . . As I now write, the days that followed seem dim to me. But I can bear witness that Lincoln's proclamation, freeing the slaves, seemed nothing in comparison to the anguish in the homes from where had gone forth the soldiers of the Confederacy, thousands of them never to return. The slaves might go. . . if only the graves could have given up their dead. . .

Turner Kendrick Cold in Apc.

1867 With Mrs. N. S. Kendrick Dr.

Jan'y 1st.	To 1 pk meal	\$2.00	2.00
Feby 4	To 1 pk meal	.50	
Feby 11	To 1 pk meal	.50	
Feby 18	To 1/2 pk meal	.25	
Feby 25	To 3 pks meal	1.50	
Feby 28	To 1 pk meal	.50	3.25
Mar 16	To 3 pks meal	1.50	1.50
Apr 7	To 3 pks meal	1.50	
Apr 11	To 3 1/2 lbs Bacon	1.87 1/2	
Apr 14	3 lbs Bacon	.75	
Apr 23	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	
Apr 30	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	5.62 1/2
May 7	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	
May 14	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	
May 21	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	
May 26	To 3 pks meal	1.50	
May 27	To 3 lbs Bacon	.75	4.50

Thomas Kendrick (Cold) in Apc.

1867.	With Mrs. N. S. Kendrick Dr.		
Jany 1st.	To 1 Bed Stead	\$10.00	
Jany 8th.	To 1 pk meal .....	.50	
Jany 12th.	To 1 gal syrup	1.00	
Jany 12th.	To Cash borrowed for wife to go to Columbus	10.00	
Jany 12th.	To Cash borrowed last year	5.00	26.50
Feby 2nd.	To 1 gal Syrup	1.00	
Feby 4th.	To ½ bu meal	1.00	
Feby 6th.	To 16 lbs Bacon	4.00	
Feby 19th.	To 16 lbs Bacon	4.00	
Feby 19th.	To 1 gal syrup	1.00	11.00
Mch 6th.	To 1½ gal syrup	1.50	
Mch 11th.	To 14 lbs Bacon	3.50	
Mch 11th.	To 1 pk meal .....	.50	
Mch 20th.	To 17½ lbs Bacon	4.37½	
Mch 30th.	To 1 gal syrup	1.50	11.37½
Apl 5th.	To 14 lbs Bacon	3.50	
Apl 10th.	To 1½ gal syrup	1.50	
Apl 19th.	To 9½ lbs. Bacon	2.37½	
Apl 26th.	To 12 lbs Bacon	3.00	10.37½
May 6th.	To 17½ lbs Bacon	4.37½	
May 21st.	To 9 lbs Bacon	2.25	
May 27th.	To 5 lbs Bacon	1.25	7.87½
June 9th.	To 4½ lbs Bacon	1.12½	
June 14th.	To 1½ lbs Bacon .....	.37½	
June 14th.	To 1 pr Shoes	2.75	
June 14th.	To 1 plug Tobacco .....	.60	
June 16th.	To 12 lbs Bacon	3.00	
June 24th.	To 10½ lbs Bacon	2.62½	
June 30th.	To 14½ lbs Bacon	3.62½	
June 30th.	To 3 pks meal	1.50	15.60
July 9th.	To 8 lbs Bacon	2.00	
July 11th.	To 1 bu meal	2.00	
July 16th.	To 9½ lbs Bacon	2.37½	
July 23rd.	To 4 lbs Bacon	1.00	
July 23rd.	To 1 pk meal .....	.50	
July 26th.	To 12½ lbs Bacon	3.12½	
July 29th.	To 2 pks meal	1.00	12.00

Aug 7th.	To 1 Bu meal	2.00	
Aug 11th.	To 10½ lbs Bacon	2.62½	
Aug 14th.	To 9 lbs Bacon	2.25	
Aug 31st.	To 4½ lbs Bacon	1.12½	8.00
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Sept 5th.	To 3 lbs Bacon75	
Sept 7th.	To 8 lbs Beef80	
Sept 10th.	To 5 lbs Bacon	1.25	
Sept 25th.	To 9 lbs Beef .....	.90	
Sept 30th.	To 2 lbs Bacon50	
Sept 30th.	To 1½ lbs Beef15	
Sept 30th.	To Cash borrowed	1.00	5.35
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Oct 1st.	To 2 lbs Bacon50	
Oct 3rd.	To 1 lb Bacon25	
Oct 9th.	To 7 lbs Bacon	1.75	
Oct 16th.	To 2½ lbs Bacon62½	
Oct 17th.	To 6 lbs Bacon	1.50	
Oct 23rd.	To 8½ lbs Bacon	2.12½	6.75
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Nov 4th.	To State & County Tax	4.00	
Nov 15th.	To 6 lbs Bacon	1.50	
Nov 19th.	To 6 lbs Bacon	1.50	
Nov 23rd.	To 7 lbs Bacon	1.75	
Dec 1st.	To 2 lbs Bacon50	
	Baging & Rope	3.22	8.47
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			123.07
By Bacon			14.50
			108.59
By Cotton	47.00		
½ ??? Cotton	23.50		
Peas, oats & ????	14.00		
By Fodder	10.23		
By Bed stead	10.00		104.73
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			3.86

Thomas Kendrick

Acct With

Mrs. N. S. Kendrick

Then came the dramatic moment when mistress and slave met. My mother called all of her slaves together and read them the Lincoln proclamation. "You are free," she told them simply. "You can go or stay". Not one of them left. All kept on at their work, as respectful and as obedient as before hearing the long awaited news of freedom. The news basis upon which they were to work left them undisturbed in their cabins. It was known as the share basis—an economical adjustment which was the only course to be pursued when more than two billions of property in negro slaves throughout the South had been taken away when the Confederate Army surrendered. The negroes accepted their freedom with as much exaltation as they dared. They roamed the "big road",—a privilege long denied them. But any outward demonstration would have been dangerous. The Mammy, of whom I have written, regarded her freedom as astounding phenomena—like that of the stars falling—she remembered when the stars fell—but without any real effect upon her mode of living. She was now very old, but the "idea" of freedom stirred her very soul. I can see her as she sat in the doorway of her cabin, fanning herself with a huge turkey-wing fan, with her little grandchildren playing about her. And I often heard her say, with that religious fervor of her race, "Freedom is so sweet! Freedom is so sweet!" She lived only a short time after the great War. Her dying words were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!". . .

In the pages that follow are preserved the original agreements between my mother and her former slaves, under the new order. Other papers show the strictness with which accounts between the newly freed negroes and their employers were kept. One of the most curious of these relics is a tax receipt of my mother's showing that her taxes were paid with one hundred and nine pounds of bacon—in lieu of the cash. Confederate money had long been declared worthless. A number of rather ancient receipts, some of them antedating the Civil War period, are interesting in their revelations of the cost of living. A fragment of a receipt, bearing date of May 1860, breathes an air of romance, as a bit of lace point, flowers and ribbon, were purchased on that date for one of my mother's neices—preparing for her wedding.

Post Quartermaster, 7th Congressional District,

Tax in Kind, State of Alabama.

Received at Depot No. 21

Suspension April 1864.

Mrs. Kendrick, County of Macon, One hundred and nine (109) lbs. Bacon and three (3) Bus Oats Tax in Kind, to be credited on the amount assessed to him.

E. L. Branscombe

Agent, Depot No. 21

For Joe Farley

Capt. and Post Q.M., 7th Co. Dist., Ala.

Amt got by Mrs. Kendrick for Miss Georgia Coleman
From Jones & Bell

1860

May	5	1 Lace point	10.00
		flowers	1.00
		Ribon .....	.15
			<hr/> 11.15

*The War ended one year later. Meat reached thirty-five dollars per pound during this period. Common cloth was sixty dollars per yard, shoes from two hundred to eight hundred per pair, and a barrel of flour was worth \$1,400. Depreciation of Confederate currency had been so rapid that in 1864 the relative value of gold was 19 for 1—(Transcriber's note)

*This was paid in gold at a time when the relative value of gold was 28 to 1. The decline of Confederacy currency was so rapid that two years before this is dated, the last actual sale of Confederate notes made the relative value 1,200 for 1 (Transcriber's note)

Recd of Mrs. N. S. Kendrick Forty four 90/100 Dollars in payment of his Tax for 1867

Nov 18th 1867

John R. McGowen T.C.

Bullock Co Ala.

Alabama

Macon Cty

Articles of agreement between Nancy S. Kendrick and the freedmen whose names are hereunto attached. The said freedmen agree to bind themselves as laborers on the plantation of said N. S. Kendrick from the first of January 1867 to 25th Dec next. They agree to conduct themselves honestly, civilly, and to perform any labors on said plantation or connected therewith that may be required of them by the said N. S. Kendrick. They agree to labor diligently on said place and on refusal to do so, shall be dismissed and his or their wages to be expended in employing other hands. The said freedmen agree to take care of all tools with which they may be entrusted and to use kindly and carefully all animals under their charge. They agree to bear their expenses and to return any advances that may be made from their employer's property. The said N. S. Kendrick agrees to treat her employees with kindness. She agrees to furnish them with houses. She agrees to divide the crop with them at the end of the year in the following proportion per hand—fractional hands in proportion to wit—one third of the net proceeds of cotton, corn fodder, potatoes, peas, rice, oats. She agrees to furnish them with bread and meat to be paid for out of the proceeds of their share of the crop.

Alabama

Bullock County

This agreement entered into this day between N. S. Kendrick and Willie Freedman and his wife Matilda, witnesseth, that the said Willie has hired his wife to the said N. S. Kendrick to the first of Januay next to cook, wash, milk & to perform all such ser-vices as may be required of her about the house & garden to act civilly and respectfully and honestly—To take care of all things which may be placed under her care

*Nine freedmen signed this contract by making their mark. The first of the signers was one of the most trusted of the former slaves of the Kendrick plantation.

They retained the names given them during the slavery regime and this particular group belonged to the Cunninghams, who owned a neighboring plantation to Mrs. Kendrick's.

*The boundary-line between Macon and Bullock County was changed in this period, and the Kendrick plantation now extended into Bullock County.

For which said services said N. S. Kendrick is to treat her kindly, to feed her, and their children, Elbert, Jerry & Peter, and to pay thirty dollars, at the end of the year.

Witness J. A. Walker W. K. Bell	his Willis X West mark for wife Matilda N. S. Kendrick
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*This is the only example in the contracts of the reconstruction period where a negro signs a contract for his wife, in this instance, making his mark for "his wife Matilda", and actually hiring her out.

1866 Mrs N. S. Kendrick Dr

To James Ross

July	To Repairing Bugie	\$75.00
28	Credit By Cash	30.00
		\$45.00

1867

Jan 24 Recd Payment in full of the above acct

Jas Ross

The interesting old account introduced here shows the amount of detail that was necessary in keeping a record of moneys advanced by the former owners of the newly-freed negroes. It shows, too, that this account was paid in full by the negro, at the end of the year, when settlement was required. But after paying the account from the sale of his products, it will be seen that he only had \$3.86 to show for his year's work. He had his land and cabin furnished free by his mother, who also supplied the stock free, and the plantation implements. This account is dated the second year of "freedom", but without help from his former owner, the share basis would not have netted this negro a living.*

M. A. W. Surley

*This vehicle was doubtless one of the few left on the plantation on that day when the Federal Army wrought such swift destruction.

Turner Dendrick Colored

1867 in Act, with Mrs. N. S. Kendrick

June 16th	To 1 ham 12 lbs 25cts	\$ 3.00
June 20th	To Maken ? dress	1.50
June 27th	To one pocket	1.50
July 2nd	To 3 lbs lard .....	.60
July 2nd	To 1 lb butter .....	.20
July 2nd	To Ribbon	1.25
Sept 8th	To 3 lbs of hames meat .....	.75
Sept 8th	To 1 lb lard .....	.20
Sept 8th	To lether for Shoes to Will .....	.75
Sept 8th	To one dose colomel	
Sept 8th	To one dose of Quinine	
	To 9 yds domestic 28	2.52
	Tax	4.00

16.29

3.25

19.52

1 Lb Butter20

Owe Mr. Walker for clothing 6.25

8 yds domestic 28 cts per yd 2.24

\$28.21

Mrs. N. S. Kendrick

1867

May 6	To 2 yds Irish Linen 1.50	\$ 3.00
	To 1 pr Shoes	2.50
	To 10 yds Calico 25	2.50
	To 8 yds Calico 20	1.60
	To 10 yds Calico 23	2.30
May 24	To 1 pr. L. G. Shoes 4.50	4.50
May 24	To 2 paps Pins 15 .....	.30
	To 15½ yds Osnaburg 38	5.89
	To Coat & Vest	24.00
	To 1 Hat	5.00
June 11	To 9 yds Shirting 27 by Coleman	2.43
June 15	To 1 pr Shoes 2.75	2.75
	To 1 Plug Tobacco 60 .....	.60
July 25	To 1 Hoop Skirt 1.50 fr Mrs. Lewis	1.50
Aug 26	To 1 Pack Envelopes .....	.25
	To 1 quire Paper .....	.50
	To 3 hat needles 10 .....	.30
	To 1 Bunch Tape .....	.10

Aug 31	To 7 yds Domestic 35	2.45	
Sept 6	To 6 yds Domestic 22½	1.35	
Sept 11	To 2½ yds Ribbon 50	1.25	
	To 1 yd Jacomb .....	.75	
	To ½ yd Jacomb.....	.25	
	To 2 yds Ribbon 65. 6 yds Domestic 30	3.10	
Jim	To 1 Plug Tobacco 25 Box Blacking 10	.35	
	To 2 pr Gloves 50. To order 3.55.....	4.55	
12	To 1 Sawfile	1.00	
	To 1 Under Shirt for Coleman	1.90	76.97
			<hr/>
	By Hoop skirt chg to Mrs. Lewis.....	1.50	
			<hr/>
	Due	\$75.47	
Oct 9	To 4 yds Ticking 50 1 Shirt Bosom 50.....	2.50	
19	To 1 Coat 1300 Box Collars 40 pr Coleman.....	13.40	
Nov 7	To 4 yds Flannel 75. 5 yds Kenton Flannel 2.15.		
	5 yds calico 20 pr son.....	6.25	
			<hr/>
		97.62	
			Over
	Amt Forward	97.62	
Nov 7	To Blacking .....	.15	
	6 lbs Nails 12½ (Cash) .....	.75	
	To 2½ yrs Linen 45		
			<hr/>
		98.52	
		1.12	
			<hr/>
	Received Payment	99.64	

STAMP

R D Spalling & Bro
S & Bro
Jany
1868

Station No. 6.

ORIGINAL.

MOBILE & GIRARD R.R. COMPANY.

No. 647

Dec the 20th 1867

Received from Mrs. N. Kendrick
four (4) Bales Cotton, in good order

Consigned to G & B

Marks
Mrs. N. Kendrick to G & B.
Total

Bale
4

To be transported on the Mobile and Girard Rail Road to Girard, under the following stipulations, vis: liability of the Company, either for damage or loss not to attach until the cotton is laden on the cars, and to cease upon notice of its arrival at Girard being given to consignee. If not removed with in forty-eight (48) hours after delivery, the Company may charge regular storage, or have it removed to a warehouse, charges to be paid by consignee.

J. Baker, Agent G. C. B.

Sales of 24 Bales of Cotton by Gray, Bedell & Hughes,
For account of Mrs. N. S. Kendrick To Bowers

Name	No.	12	600	H	20	500	H	28	470	H
		13	536	H	21	548	H	S 29	396	H
		14	518	H	22	524	H	30	508	H
		15	512	H	S 23	404	H	31	500	H
		16	360	H	24	524	H	32	490	H
		17	510	H	25	564	H	33	500	H
		18	528	H	26	494	H	34	410	H
		19	496	H	27	526	H	35	560	H
										1197lb @ 13
Rev Tax										1557.14
										299.45
Charges: Storage						\$12.00				1257.69
Freight and Drayage,						48.38				79.22
Mending, Jc.										\$1178.47
Commission for Selling						18.84				221.86
										956.61

Columbus, Ga., Jan 3 1868

GRAY, BEDELL & HUGHES.

Columbus Sun Print.

Mrs. N. S. Kendrick

1867 M A/C M W Gray & Bedell

Feb	9	Cash W M	200.00	
Mar	21	Com & Int on Adv	6.83	
		Cr		
Mar	21	By Prv. 4 B/C		449.50
		Dr		
Mar	6	Cash W M A/C	242.97	
			<hr/>	
			\$449.50	\$449.50

Sales of Four Bales of Cotton by Gray & Bedell,

For Account of Mrs. N. S. Kendrick To C. G. Holmes & Co.

N S K No. 1	460
2	457
3	477 - 4
4	465

1859 lb @ 25 c \$464.75

Charges:—Storage,	\$ 2.00	15.25
Freight and Drayage	8.61	<hr/>
Mending, Stamp, Jc		\$449.50
Revenue Tax		
Commission For Selling	4.64	

Columbus, Ga., March 4th 1867

GRAY & BEDELL.

Mrs. N. S. Kendrick

1866

Bot of W. N. Mathews.

June	30	By Geo. Washington. 1 pr shoes	3.75	
	30	To 1 pr Hose 4/2 4yds Jeans 50	2.50	
	30	To Soda 2/2. 1 lb pepper 60 .....	.85	
	30	To 2 prs. Hose 40. 3 yds ticking 3/2 1 spool thread 15	2.07 ²	
	30	To Calico 83. 5½ yds Jeans 4/2 (Levi) 3 spools thread ½	3.95 ²	
	30	To 1 Box Buttons 55. 11 yds hieory 3/2	4.67 ²	
Oct	4	To 1 pr Suspenders 60. (Oct 8) By Mrs. Coleman Coat & Vest 25.00	25.60	
Oct	10	To Diff in Suspenders .....	.15	
Oct	25	To 4 yds Tweeds 1.60 2 yds Dom 33	7.06	
Oct	25	To 1 paper Eug. pins 30. 1 Buch. lin. tape 2/2 .....	.55	
Oct	29	To 1½ yds Kersy. 65. 1 Box paper Collars 4/2	1.47 ²	
Nov	2	To 1 Pr shoes 3.00 3 yds Delain 4/2	4.50	
Nov	13	To Cr By Cash		25.00
Nov	13	To 6 yds Brn. Drilling 40	2.40	
Nov	13	To 1 spool Thread .....	.12 ²	
Nov	16	To By Coleman. 1 pr shoes 2.50	2.50	2.50
Dec	12	To 1 lb soda 2/2 .....	.25	
Dec	29	To By Mr. Bell for boy, 1 Pr Blankets	6.00	
Jan				
1867	17	To Order 10 lbs nails ½ 1 chisel 2.00 2 augers 80 - 1.50	5.55	
	17	To 1 file 30 1 Ball shoe thread 2/2 .....	.55	
Jan	17	To 3 Bridle bitts 3/2	1.12 ²	
Jan	26	To 1 pr trace Chains	1.50	
	26	To 2 Balls Thread 2/2 .....	.50	
			<hr/>	
			\$77.64	\$27.50
			27.50	
			<hr/>	
			\$50.14	

By Cash 50.14

W. B. Kendrick

WBK
Aprl
Stamp

Aprl 18. 1867

Station No. 6

(ORIGINAL)

MOBILE & GIRARD R.R. COMPANY

No. 646

Dec the 19th 1867

Received from Mrs. N. Kendrick sixteen (16) Bales Cotton in good order

Consigned to G & B.

Marks.

Bales

Mrs. N. Kendrick to G. & B.

Total

16

To be transported on the Mobile and Girarde Rail Road to Girard, under the following stipulations, viz: liability of the Company either for damage or loss not to attach until cotton is laden on the cars, and to cease upon notice of its arrival at Girarde being given to consignee. If not removed within forty-eight (48) hours after delivery, the Company may charge regular storage, or have it removed to a warehouse, charges to be paid by consignee.

J. Baker, Agent

G. & B.

Ages have passed. No one of whom I have written is living to day. But I am still remembered by some of the servants who were children when Freedom came. I received letters frequently from those who were born on the old plantation, whose ancestors were slaves, and who now own many acres of the plantation on which their parents and grandparents lived. They have learned to read and write, and in addition to acquiring land and making a comfortable living, and respected by all who know them. One of these negroes, Enoch Kendrick (the negroes retain the names of their former owners), a son of the gentle Moutus of whom I have written, owns one hundred acres of the old plantation and offers to send the products of his farm all the way to New York, should I be in need of them. But of the dear home of my girlhood he writes: "Could you but see it now, the water would run down your cheeks."

These recollections of other days—my yesterdays—naturally end here. What has come afterward belongs to others who will write of their own time. My second marriage, after several years of widowhood, to Captain John Absalom Walker, of Eufaula, Alabama, and the pleasant years there when the world was at peace, and the later years, do not properly belong in this narrative. But as a matter of record I shall here set down a few facts in the life of Captain Walker, whose dauntless spirit and noble personality left their impress on the communities in which he lived. He was born in Putman County, Georgia, May 9, 1827, and was the posthumous child of John Hedge Walker, his birth occurring two months after the death of his father. His mother was Elizabeth Hunter Wooldridge. He was the only son, and there was but one other child, a daughter, Evelyn Wooldridge, who died young. The devotion between the brother and sister was unusual. The years could never obliterate the early memories of a sister who was described to me as the gentlest and purest of souls. On his mother's side was the same ancestral strain as that of Henry Clay, and to the day of her death, the mother talked of "Cousin Henry" who, on a memorable occasion had actually left the platform on which he was to speak, to imprint a kiss on her cheek, as she sat in breathless admiration in the great audience. The Walkers are English, settled in Virginia and South Carolina, Captain Walker's father removing from South Carolina to Georgia. An unscrupulous guardian made the boyhood days of the fatherless lad anything but happy ones and finally succeeded in defrauding him of practi-

cally his entire inheritance. At seventeen he embarked in business, and soon after made his first trip to New York. He often told in later years of his impressions of that city. They were still making remarkable demonstrations on Washington's birthday, and he witnessed such a procession on Broadway that his eyes, accustomed only to rural scenes, were completely dazzled. One of the souvenirs that he brought home was a specimen of work done by the newly invented sewing machine. The Howe invention was the talk of the country, but few there were who believed that anything could be invented that would back-stitch. He knew that the homefolk would be incredulous if he trusted to mere description of what his own eyes had beheld, so he had a few rows stitched on the cuff of his coat as proof of what he had really seen. But even after exhibiting this rare specimen at home there were some who said there was a trick in the whole thing. So much for the open minds of those days . . .

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At nineteen this young Southerner married Mary Elizabeth Pitts, a half-sister of Mr. Robert Cherry, of Eufaula, whose widow still lives in that city. Of the Walker-Pitts union there were born six sons, but only two lived to maturity, John Thomas Walker, and Robert Mumphrey Walker. The latter is still living in Alabama. . . . When the South seceded Captain Walker was living at Glennville, near Eufaula, and was one of three to organize Company C., which was mustered into service as a part of the Thirty-first Georgia Regiment. He was stationed at Savannah from October 1861 to June 1862. From Savannah he went to Richmond where he engaged in the Seven Days' fight. The Thirty-first went in with twelve hundred men and came out with seven hundred. He was at the battle of Cedar Creek, the second battle of Manassas, was at Chancellorsville when Stonewall Jackson received his fatal wound, was at Harper's Ferry, and was afterward in the fight at Sharpsburg. When John B. Gordon was made Brigadier General he appointed Captain Walker commissary of his brigade. He went with the Army to Gettysburg and then returned to the Valley of Virginia. After the battle in the Valley he was sent to Petersburg and from there to Lynchburg. He was with the Army in all of the principal campaigns in the Valley of Virginia, and was promoted by order of General Robert E. Lee over five majors for efficiency, and was at Appomattox in April, 1865, being within twenty feet of General Lee at the surrender. The illustrious commander complimented him with these words: "If I had a few

more such men I could whip the fight." A furlough read: "I cheerfully grant you a furlough, but hope you will not avail yourself of it. You are too great service to the Army." It was signed by General Lee. This, with other personal effects, was burned by General Custer on the evening before the surrender. On the day of the surrender Captain Walker went in person to the headquarters of General Grant and asked for supplies and transportation. General Grant replied with the request that General Lee order Fitzhugh Lee to cease burning his (Grant's) supply wagons. After that order was issued the supplies were forthcoming for the Confederate Army. But when General Grant told Captain Walker that the teams for hauling the baggage to the railroads would be supplied on the condition that they would be returned to the United States Government, Captain Walker said, "I cannot promise that, General." But he obtained them without the promise, and always remembered the magnanimity of Grant in the historic interview that he had with the Union leader. He saw him after the War, on a ferry from Jersey City to New York, and they recalled the interview. Captain Walker had two or three conversations with General Grant after that. . . . After the surrender Captain Walker returned to Alabama, riding a part of the way, walking the rest. He often told of his reaching the old covered bridge at Eufaula, which spans the Chattahoochee at that point, and of being halted by a Federal guard who, with an oath, asked him who he was. With blazing eyes, he replied, "I am a paroled soldier from General Lee's Army!" "You're a gentleman, sir. Pass on," said the guard.

. . . The soldiers who live to come back missed their old neighbors. They found their property destroyed and many people suffering from actual want. Confederate stocks, bonds and currency were worthless. The South had been a blockaded country, had tried to supply itself with products from its own factories, and had seen these factories burned because they had furnished supplies to the Confederacy. The University of Alabama was burned. It was said that many a man with thousands of acres was as poor as a negro refugee. All the fences were gone, the orchards ruined, there was no cattle, sheep or horses; in many instances only bare chimneys were standing. Gin houses had been burned, bridges ruined the roads were in disorder. It was told that money was so scarce that on one trip from Montgomery to Mobile the roadman only collected thirteen dollars. . . . This was the South

that Captain Walker faced, with his returning comrades, in the Spring of 1865.

Captain John Absalom Walker, C. S. A.

After the War, Captain Walker re-established himself in business, owned plantations on both sides of the Chattahoochie. With all of his strength he fought to retrieve his own fortunes and for the upbuilding of the South. There was no spirit of compromise in Captain Walker regarding those times. The North and not the South was the aggressor. He knew that interference with slavery imperiled the Union. In his younger days he had been a Whig, but there never lived a truer Democrat, and he never had the least sympathy with the abolitionists nor with the anti slavery Whigs. I can now see in the light of recent events that it was men of Captain Walker's type who made the South so solidly democratic. For although he had no desire to run for office himself, he was a deep student of politics, and it always gave him the greatest satisfaction when the eleven seceded states invariably cast their entire electoral vote for the Democratic candidates. He lived through carpet-bag governments, saw them totter, helped to put down negro insurrections, and to see the Scalawag Party—the native whites who cided with the Radicals—vanish into thin air. Occasionally, he wrote of the War, and from a yellowed notebook, on which he inscribed in pencil, "War Times", I here make a few extracts.

... "When the Confederate Government decided to send delegates to President Lincoln, I visited the barefooted, ragged soldiers on the breastworks and talked of the peace terms. But that glorious and tattered Army scoffed at any peace terms. "No peace, without independence—absolutely." They would kill the delegates who agreed upon any settlement that was not based on absolute independence. There was not a man who was not willing to suffer, to fight, to starve, rather than to yield. Rations were short; there was no money to pay the troops, but Death, rather than submission. . . . At this time, upon the orders of General Lee, I joined the Command of General St. John, for the purpose of going through the country and appealing to the citizens for still greater sacrifices. The appeal met with that magnificent unanimity of response that marked the whole period of the war. We were able to assemble supplies for the troops, amounting to one hundred thousand dollars in Confederate money—assembled them against the obstacle of a new law of the Confederate Congress, prohibiting the removal of

supplies unless we could raise the money to move them. To complicate the situation, the Congress had to agree not to issue any more money. The situation that confronted me was a hundred thousand dollars worth of army supplies waiting to be moved, a new law prohibiting their removal, and a Congress refusing to issue any more money. I went to General Lee and informed him of my situation. He then told me that Major Harvey, the quartermaster of the Army, had just returned from Richmond, and had been unable to get any money. In my desperation, I said, "Then, General Lee, what must I do?" I shall never forget his answer, "I leave it with you." "Then, give me a pass to Richmond," I said, moved by a sudden resolve to go in person, if necessary, to Congress, and failing, to see President Davis, in the hope that he would be able to advance the money until I could raise it—the amount needed, from private citizens. I obtained the pass, and my first interview on reaching Richmond was in the office of the Commissary-General. I was informed that there was no money to be had. I replied that if such was the case, I would like to have a written statement to that effect. While we were in conversation an agent of the Confederate Government arrived, bringing with him forty thousand dollars. I was told that I could have that forty thousand, but that I would have to be satisfied with it. "I am not going to leave Richmond until I get what I came after—one hundred thousand," I answered. I had an intimate friend in the office of the Commissary General, and he knew that I meant what I said. "We will have to get that money in some way," he said. "Here's a man who will never leave without it." At that moment a packet was delivered by mail—a packet containing twenty thousand dollars. Through various sources help came, and the day that I left the beleaguered Confederate Capital I took away one hundred thousand dollars. Making haste to return, I passed Major Harvey's quarters, and he began to "guy" me for making the trip. When he learned of the success of my mission, he said that he would obtain an order from General Lee for fifty thousand dollars to be given him (Harvey) for the purpose of paying the troops. The sergant returned with a declination. I went at once through the country and paid for the supplies which I had gathered, supplies sufficient to last my division fully three months. They were assembled two miles from Petersburg. . . . Alas! the fatal hour arrived. Early one Sunday morning, General Gordon sent me an order for all supply wagons to be loaded to full capacity. At twelve o'clock that night, we moved on the road to Amelia

Courthouse, where the Confederate supplies were ordered burned to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. In not obeying that order to the letter I probably risked court martial, for instead of burning the supplies, I sent an orderly to some factories, about one quarter of a mile away. "Tell the workers in every factory that they can have all supplies that they can carry away." They came in swarms, pell mell, at the break of day. They brought buckets, barrels and jugs. Fifty thousand pounds of meat was distributed among them, and they sweetened themselves from head to foot with barrels of syrup. Practically all of the Confederate supplies which had been gathered for one more supreme effort went towards feeding the factory workers only a short time before every machine-shop and storehouse belonging to the Confederate government at Richmond was ablaze from the torch of the enemy . . . On my way, the magazine at Richmond was blown up, and the shock almost threw ~~me~~ off my horse. . . Only a short time before General Custer's command set fire to my personal effects. . . . The awful moment came. General Grant demanded our surrender and whilst the preliminaries were being arranged, General Lee's gallant little band was ordered one hundred yards from the road . . . We could see him as he came down the Pike—see him on Traveller. The men closed in, and he stopped his horse. We could hear him distinctly—heard him say: "Go home and make as good citizens as you have soldiers" . . .

After the surrender I made for General Gordon's tent, where I could cry. I found him weeping. I made for* and found him on his knees. I then found a few of my old company, many weeping. I saw the gallant Captain E. C. Penny digging a hole in the ground, and saying they should not have his pistols and his sword. . . . The men were betting that Fitzhugh Lee would never surrender. I returned to General Gordon and informed him that I intended to go with him". The note-book comes to an end here, and as I write the closing words I can see the calm spirit of the one who first set them down, that spirit which turned from defeat to a hopeful and courageous acceptance of a new day. . .

. . . I am writing in the waning Summer of 1921. I have passed the three milestones since I began setting down what seemed to

*The name of this officer is illegible in the original.

me a few important events in my life. Days, weeks and months have gone without my writing a line, but my mind is singularly clear about everything that I have set down. . .

. . . The Past, rather than the Present, is before me. That is because I have reached the time when the twilight draws near. I have . . . come to the sunset time, when I like to sit in the quiet, by my open window, and be waited on a little. But I can now say with Benjamine Franklin that the next thing most like living one's life over again seems to be a recollection of that life.

THE END

A NOTE ON P. JOSEPH FORSTER

Pioneer Alabama Printer

By Douglas C. McMurtrie

Relying on currently available evidence in regard to the beginnings of printing within the present boundaries of the State of Alabama, we should say that the earliest known issue of the press there was a crude pamphlet produced in 1807 by an unidentified printer at Wakefield: *The Declaration of the American Citizens on the Mobile*. The only recorded copy of this significant imprint is preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The next attempt, so far as we know, to set up a press in Alabama never got beyond the project stage. In the issue of the *Western Centinel*, of Nashville, Tennessee, for June 30, 1810, Harry Toulmin issued proposals for publishing, presumably at Mobile, "a weekly newspaper, to be called *The Mobile Mercury, or, Tombigbe and Alabama Advertiser*." But there is no evidence that the projected paper ever was published.

In the record as it has stood hitherto, the next known printing in what is now Alabama was the initial issue at Fort Stoddert of the *Mobile Centinel*. The dating and numbering of the second issue, the earliest that has survived, indicates that it was first published on May 23, 1811, by Samuel Miller and John B. Hood, two printers who had come from Tennessee.

I have now to report evidence of the functioning of a press at St. Stephens at a date earlier than that on which Miller and Hood printed the first issue of their *Centinel*. This evidence is found in the printer's imprint on a copy of a bail bond, now a treasured item in the collection of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter, of Morristown, New Jersey. The document is headed "Mississippi Territory, Washington District," but the word "District" in the heading, and elsewhere throughout the bond, has been changed in pen and ink to "County."

This bail bond is dated in handwriting February 24, 1811—indicating that it had been printed prior to that date. And at the

foot of the sheet we find the imprint: "St. Stephens: Printed by P. J. Forster." This was a new name in Alabama printing history. Who was this Forster, where had he come from, and what had been his previous experience with printing?

We find the name of Joseph Forster as that of the founder of *Der Pelican*, a German weekly first published on October 28, 1805, at Philadelphia. Later issues, however, bear the name P. J. Forster. In June, 1806, this paper became a tri-weekly printed in English, German, and French. Beginning in January, 1807, it was printed in English and French only. According to Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, the issue of February 21, 1807, is the last Philadelphia issue located.

Forster's name appeared in the Philadelphia directories of 1807 and 1808 as a printer, but with the name given as Joseph P. Forster.

We next find this printer in New York, where Joseph Forster on October 6, 1808, was editing a weekly newspaper entitled *The Pelican*. The paper of that date is the earliest and also the only issue located. But *Longworth's City Directory* of New York for 1809 lists our printer-publisher as Joseph Foster, printer, at 367 Pearl Street.

These references are undoubtedly to the same man whom we find printing at St. Stephens in 1811, if not earlier. Apparently, his use of the initial P and its position in the writing of his name were matters in which he was far from hidebound. Henceforth P. J. Forster must be regarded as the first identified printer to practice his craft in what is now the state of Alabama.

Did Forster print a newspaper in Alabama? I think the presumption is against that. The newspapers of neighboring Tennessee of that time seem to have been watching affairs in the Mobile region rather carefully, and we find several references to the *Mobile Centinel*, for example, in the 1811 issues of the *Nashville Democratic Clarion* and *Tennessee Gazette*. But we do not find any newspaper which could have been Forster's quoted or even mentioned in the contemporary newspapers of Tennessee.

Except for his imprint on the unassuming bail bond, we have no evidence of Forster's career in Alabama. I would therefore urge Alabama historians and archivists to seek for further records of this printer and his activities in that state.

The later record of printing in Alabama is quite clear and specific. In May or June, 1812, the *Madison Gazette* began publication at Huntsville, in the far northern part of the state. Only one copy of this newspaper is known to have survived: volume 2, no. 73, of October 19, 1813. That issue was published by T. G. Bradford & Co., but whether Bradford was concerned with the establishment of the paper, or whether he "& Co." acquired it after it had started, we have as yet no means of knowing.

Thomas Grayson Bradford since 1808 had been engaged in publishing the *Clarion* at Nashville, Tennessee, at first as junior partner with his celebrated relative, John Bradford, the pioneer printer of Kentucky, but as sole publisher in 1810 and later, until 1830. Thus it seems that his connection with the *Madison Gazette* at Huntsville must have been only that of a senior partner without active participation. His "Co." at Huntsville has not been identified, so far as I know.

More enduring than P. J. Forster's press at St. Stephens was that of Thomas Eastin's *Halcyon*, established there in 1815. Eastin was one of several much-traveled typographers of the pioneer days of printing in America. We first encounter him at the age of seventeen at Nashville in 1805; he remained there until 1812 or 1813. In August, 1813, he was printing at Alexandria, Louisiana, but two months later he was at Washington, Mississippi, where he remained about six months. After five years at St. Stephens he disposed of his newspaper there to Joseph De Jeanne and was next recorded at Greensboro, Alabama, 1823-1825. In June, 1828, he appeared at Pensacola, Florida, but after six months moved on to Key West. In 1830 he retired from printing and publishing.

The annals of the Alabama press record further establishments of printing before 1821 at Blakeley (*Blakeley Sun and Alabama Advertiser*, by Gabriel F. Mott) in December, 1818; at Claiborne (*Alabama Courier*, by Tucker & Tucker) in March, 1819 at Tuscaloosa (*Tuscaloosa Republican*, by Thomas M. Davenport) probably in April,

1819; and at Cahawba (*Cahawba Press and Alabama Intelligencer*, by William B. Allen, in June, 1819.

I take this opportunity to list here a few Alabama titles earlier than 1841, known from extant copies or advertised as published, which have not as yet been recorded:

Mississippi Teditory. Washington County. Sheriff.

Mississippi Territory | Washington District | Know all men by these presents that we (*blank filled out in handwriting*) | (*blank filled out in handwriting*) are held and firmly bound unto (*blank filled out*) Sheriff of Washington County in the sum of (*blank filled out*) | (9 printed lines with spaces for dates, names, etc., and 3 "[L.S]" lines for signatures) | (*Filet*) | St. Stephens. Printed by P. J. Forster. | (1811 ?)

19.5 x 32 cm. Broadside, printed on both sides.

Dated in handwriting February 24, 1811. On the back is printed a form of assignment of the bond, "to be sued for according to the Statute in such cases made and provided," signed by the sheriff and also dated February 24, 1811.

The word "District" in the heading and wherever else it occurs in the printed form has been changed in handwriting to "County."

Collection of Thomas W. Streeter.

Alabama (territory).

Alabama, | (*blank*) County, | To any licensed minister of the Gospel, any justice of the | peace or quorum of said county, or any judge of | the Supreme Court: | You are hereby authorized to solemnize the rites of Matri-mony, between (*blank*) and (*blank*) | (*blank*) and join them together in the boly bonds of Matrimony, . . . | (4 printed lines) | T. Eastin, Printer. . . . St. Stephens. | (1818 ?)

19.6 x 16 cm. Broadside. Text in border of type ornaments, with the printer's imprint below the lower border.

Dated December 23, 1818, over the signature of William A. Robertson.

Collection of Thomas W. Streeter.

Alabama.

State of Alabama. (Clarke) County. To the sheriff of said county greeting (*sic*), You are hereby commanded to summon (*At end:*) Joseph De Jeane, printer. (St. Stephens, 1820 ?)

18.5 x 16 cm. Broadside.

A printed form of subpoena with the spaces filled out in handwriting, the written date being "21st April 1821." Joseph De Jeanne succeeded Thomas Eastin as printed and publisher of the *Halcyon and Tombeckbe Public Advertiser* at St. Stephens on October 26, 1820. This is the first and only occurrence of this printer's imprint, other than on the newspaper, that has come to my notice.

Collection of Thomas W. Streeter.

Almanacs. Alabama.

(The Tuscaloosa almanac, for 1824. Tuscaloosa, 1823.)

No copy known. Advertised in *The Tuscaloosa American Mirror* of January 3, 1824, as "Just published, and for sale at this office, for cash only."

Almanacs. Alabama.

(The Tuscaloosa almanac, for 1827. Tuscaloosa, 1826 ?)

No copy known. Advertised in the *Tuscaloosa Chronicle* of January 31, 1827, as "Just published and for sale at the office of the Tuscaloosa Chronicle."

Almanacs. Alabama.

(The Planter's almanac, for the year 1834. Mobile ? 1833.)

No copy known. Advertised (as "No. IV") in the *Mobile Commercial Register and Patriot* of November 8, 1833, as published by Odiorne & Smith. Odiorne & Smith were booksellers and publishers at Mobile, but not printers.

Almanacs. Alabama.

(Kellogg's Alabama almanac for the year 1834. Mobile, 1833.)

No copy known. Advertised in the *Mobile Commercial Register*

and *Patriot* of December 11, 1833, over the name of J. S. Kellogg.

Voltaire, François M. A. de

The *Henriad*; a poem with the notes and variations. Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire by Charles S. Jones. Mobile: Published by Sidney Smith. 1834.

Sidney Smith was a Mobile bookseller and publisher, but not a printer.

DLC. NN.

Baptists. Alabama. Alabama Association.

(The minutes of the Alabama Baptist Association. Hayneville, 1835.)

No copy known. Advertised in the Hayneville *Spirit of the Times* of December 16, 1835: "The Minutes of the Alabama Baptist Association are printed and ready for delivery . . . (and) will be retained in the Printing Office, subject to the order of those who are entitled to receive them."

Only one other issue of the printed minutes of this association has been recorded—the 19th anniversary, 1838.

Almanacs. Alabama.

(Kellogg's & Co's Alabama almanack for 1837. Mobile, 1836.)

No copy known. Advertised in the *Mobile Daily Commercial Register & Patriot* of October 19, 1836, and later issues, as "For sale by J. S. Kellogg & Co."

ALABAMA NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

(The following article is taken from Thomas M. Owen's four volume work entitled HISTORY OF ALABAMA AND DICTIONARY OF ALABAMA BIOGRAPHY and contains a few imprints not mentioned by Dr. McMurtrie. In addition to the two foregoing articles a few additional imprints may be found in No. 8 checklist of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1840, compiled by the American Imprints Inventory, Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration. This document was mimeographed by the Historical Records Survey in 1939 and a copy is filed in the State Department of Archives and History.)

M. B. O.

One, if not the first paper printed in what is now the limits of the State of Alabama, was issued at Fort Stoddert May 31, 1811. It was four pages of four columns each. The subscription was \$4.00 a year. Miller and Hood were the publishers, and though it was called the *Mobile Centinel*, it was printed at Fort Stoddert, because Mobile at that date was on Spanish Territory.

In 1815, G. B. Cotton founded the *Mobile Gazette and Advertiser*. It was in existence for more than four years, but it is not known how much longer as it later became the *Gazette*. Samuel Miller, the partner of Hood, who established the old *Mobile Centinel*, was publishing a paper at Blakeley, in 1818.

Thomas Eastin, the first State printer, a Veteran of the War of 1812, a Quartermaster in Andrew Jackson's Army, a citizen of Nashville, while at Mt. Vernon in 1815, noticed a damaged printing press, and a quantity of materials piled in the streets of that town, and immediately purchased it. He carried the outfit to St. Stephens and got out a copy of his paper which he called the *Halcyon*, just in time to publish the treaty of peace with Great Britain. This was in 1815.

The *Mobile Register* acquired by purchase in 1823, the *Mobile Gazette*. The Register was founded in 1821, therefore by this absorption of the Gazette the continuous history of the Mobile Register dates from 1815. The Register was established by Jonathan Battelle and John W. Townsend, shows the first issue dated December 10, 1821. Battelle was the first editor. Townsend the second editor, he assumed the sole management of the paper on the death of his partner on November 1824. Theddeus Sanford,

John Forsyth, Thaddeus Sanford, A. B. Meek, John Forsyth, Theodore O'Hara, John Forsyth, Col. William D. Mann, Isaac Donavan, John Forsyth, Joseph Hodgson, succeeded in 1893 by Erwin Craighead, have been successive editors of this paper.

The Montgomery Advertiser, founded in 1828, *The Moulton Advertiser* founded in 1828, *The Selma Times-Journal*, founded as the *Selma Times* 1825, *The Talladega Reporter*, founded on May 16, 1843, by the consolidation of the *Alabama Reporter*, the *Watchtower* and the *News*, the *Tuscumbia Alabamian-Dispatch* founded in 1831, the *Troy Messenger*, 1866, the *Union Springs Herald*, 1866, *Tuskegee News*, 1865 and the *Russell Register* (Seale), 1875, are the oldest papers in the State, which have had a continuous existence from their organization. *The Huntsville Republican*, established 1816, name later changed to *Alabama Republican*, September 15, 1820, and succeeded by the *Southern Advocate and Huntsville Advertiser*, May 6, 1825, appears to be the oldest paper in the Tennessee Valley. *The Democrat*, founded in Huntsville, is another early paper for that section, but neither one are now in existence. *The Jacksonville Republican*, founded in Jacksonville, Calhoun County, prior to 1837, continued publication through 1893. *The Florence Register and Public Advertiser*, established in that town during the early part of 1825, was followed by the *Enquirer* in 1840.

The *Alabama Sentinel* began publication in Greensboro, Hale County, in 1832. *The Alabama Journal*, Montgomery, founded in the late 20's continued in existence, as the *State Journal*, until after 1874. The *Clark County Post* began publication in Sugsville in April, 1836. The *Democrat Watchtower* was being published in Talladega in 1840. *The Patriot*, established in 1838, and the *Southern Register* established August 7, 1834 had preceded the establishment of the *Watchtower*. The *Alabama State Intelligencer* began publication at Tuscaloosa April 10, 1829. *The States Rights Expositor and Spirit of the Press* and *The Flag of the Union* were in existence there in 1823. *The Independent Monitor*, established in 1836, was succeeded by the *Tuscaloosa Blade* on September 5, 1872. *The Franklin Advertiser*, established at Tuscumbia in August of the same year. *The North Alabamian* was established shortly after this and the *Alabamian-Dispatch* is still in existence. *The Wetumpka Argus and Commercial Advertiser*, established in Wetumpka in March 1835, was succeeded by the *Wetumpka Argus* February 12, 1840. *The Courier*, *The Alabama Times*, *The Southern Crisis*, were other weekly papers in existence there in 1840.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGINAL "BOTTLE CORPS" AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA IN 1886

This "Corps" was organized by several members of the regular graduating class of 1886. I was a member of each. Three cadets, Tom Brown, "Dick" and Harry Wilson, all of Mobile, lead the music upon a flute, piccolo and violin. The rest of us accompanied them by blowing appropriate notes at proper times into similar shaped and sized bottles filled with *water* to different heights, (*beer and whisky being strictly prohibited by school rules*) thereby lending harmony of the music of our leaders. These bottles were pocketed in cups of white webbing at our left sides, the webbing crossing our right shoulders and fastened around our waists by bands of the same material with large, bright brass buckles in front. We often "played" at public entertainments, especially at the "recitals" given by the Baptist and Methodist College girls, and serenaded our young lady friends, our activities being confined to the limits of the Druid City. Do not confuse our organization with the only recognized University band of that day, which was composed of "John", with his flute, (who also brought our mail from and performed errands in Tuscaloosa for the cadets) as leader, accompanied by the other two darkies, Mike and Neal, upon bass and kettle drums. This band "sounded" all military calls and lead our dress parades, the University then ranking very high as a military school, as it does today in sports, particularly foot ball.

What contrasts of these bands with the present University Glee Club, with my old friend and school mate Tom Garner as Conductor, and its "Million Dollar Band", of one hundred or more members!

(Prepared and contributed by Edward C. Crow, 1151 11th Avenue South; Birmingham, Alabama.)

POEMS

Peace Comes At Last

Strange silence falls upon the shattered town;
The dying hear no longer screaming shells.
The dreadful drone of airplanes now is hushed,
And cruel, marching feet are still, which tells
That peace has come at last to Stalengrad.
And falls the benediction of the snow
Upon the blackened ruins caused by war.
Shawled figures search the dead for ones they knew
And loved, or salvage from their wrecks of homes
Some treasured or some necessary thing;
While here and there wan children creep from holes,
With gaunt dog tied for safety on a string.
Oh, God, who made these people stout of heart,
Let love and laughter be their future part!

EDITH TATUM.

To A Young Aviator

(A. E. G. Jr.)

A brother to all things that fly,
He is at home up in the sky,
And now he goes into that realm
His hand upon an airship's helm.

If danger threatens him up there,
O birds that sing, he is your care,
With your soft breasts a shelter make,
Hide him securely, for my sake.

O clouds that love him, come between
So that his ship may not be seen—
And God, who made such lads as he,
Let him come back again to me!

EDITH TATUM.

To One Not Returning

O lie still by peaceful water,
Let its flowing soothe your rest;
For you is no more suffering,
Earth-mother holds you on her breast.

War and pain do not remember,
Dream deep, dream deep of lovely things,
Moonlight on summer gardens,
The silken swish of homing wings.

Dream, beloved, of a pathway
That leads up to an unlatched gate;
There we met in muted evening,
'Tis there my thoughts will always wait.

EDITH TATUM.

Tale of Months

Twelve bearded men sit quietly around
A smouldering flame, each with a staff to stir
The nebular coals. Three of them are gowned
In snowy white, three in green gossamer,
Green like a willow tree in early spring,
When pregnant earth is quick with blossoming.

Three are clad in gold, as the ripened grain,
And three like the blood-red wine, each in turn
Stirs the fire, stirs once and yet again,
The perennial cycle their one concern.
Attend you. . . to the old Bohemian tale
Of months, and the fire that does not fail.

The omniluculent blaze is the constant sun,
The silent men are the months of the year:
If one should dose, and leave his task undone,
Snow would blight the spring, or drought the harvest sere.
Should April oversleep, or jostle May,
June would postpone her task another day.

Here in the south, there is no patterned chart
Of spring's green advent, or of summer going,
The seasons blend with such illusive art
That autumn tints with crimson, winter's snowing.
A warm impartial sun distributes cheer,
And nature blooms respendant all the year.

ANNE SOUTHERNE TARDY

From Mary To Abby

The love sealed by the shining clasp,
We will never know:
'Nor what was Abby to Mary,
That she loved her so.

Mary I think, had misty curls,
Abby, a bright, alluring smile,
Mary and Abby have long since gone,
Leaving no word the while.

Only the quaint Church Hymnal,
Velvet bound in richest hue,
Message of love, the symbol
Of God's love, eternal and true.

ANNE SOUTHERNE TARDY

Mountain Twilight

Purple shadows darken the mountain ranges
Where the laurel struggles for right to blossom,
Where the slender pines with dark stilted fringes
Scallop the heavens.

Vanished is the sun from the valley's gardens,
Vanished is the light upon little rivers;
All is somber, wrapped in a veil of darkness
Where the night cowers.

Lights like little glowworms in cabin windows
Faintly glimmer, piercing the velvet evening;
Soon they perish, leaving the mountain cabins
Lost in the shadows.

LOUISE LEYDEN.

Uncle Jessie

Down in Alabamy whar de autumn winds am blowin',
On an ole plan'ation whar a lazy ribber's flowin',
Dat's whar Uncle Jessie lives, his skin as black as ink,
But he ain't bothered 'bout it, caze he's got no time to think
Concernin' how he looks; he aims to work, accept no dole,
Yes sir, he thinks 'bout cotton, dreams of pickin' ebry bole.
His fields are turnin' white beneath a blue and kindly sky
Amakin' money for de time when he crops are all laid by.
An' soon he's gwine er pick it, then gin it and offer it for pay,
For Uncle Jessie has a hand at selling things dat way.
His jeans will bulge wid silver and he'll mosey down de street
To laugh and pass de time of day wid darkies he will meet.
An' he'll listen to de clerks in all de stores he usually trades,
But Uncle Jessie knows his wants, he ain't in search of aids.
He'll spend his money lak he pleases for it was hard to git,
An' planting time is months away; winter's not come yit.
He'll hurry home at close of day down a busy road,
His lanky mule astrainin' at de large and heavy load.
Sure, thar'll be plenty fur a portion of de year
Fur Uncle Jessie's really flushed when ginnin' time is here.

LOUISE LEYDEN.

Smoke Over Alabama

From villages of Creek and Cherokee—
Wigwams at Nanipacna, Talise—
Beside Ufala and her sister rivers,
Like incense offered Mother Sun, it quivers
In slender spirals. Hickory and oak
Are animate in acrid scent of smoke.

Spanish invasion, ruins smouldering
Where Alibamo warriors feel the sting
Of treachery, leave vestiges upon
The sky. Soon Indian sovereignty is gone . . .
The smoke of battle over Horseshoe Bend,
Fort Dale, Tombecbe, as the Creeks defend
Their disappearing empire. River-boats
Breathe smoky columns from their pulsing throats.

The smoke of gun-boats threatening Mobile,
Exploding shells, the smoke of Forrest's steel;
Destruction haunts a devastated land
Blackened and smoking from a conqueror's hand.
The smoke from furnaces at Cedar Bluff
Drifts over Gettysburg in valiant stuff
Of cannon; smoke from stacks at Briarfield
Crosses the sea to England with its yield.

As dusk in Birmingham and Bessemer,
Smoke is a symphony in gray, a blur
Of gray and violet, where funnels tower
Like steel-age organ pipes replete with power.

LOUISE CRENSHAW RAY
Sewanee Quarterly Review.

From Thinning Ranks

These scars upon my arm? A piece of shell
At Gettysburg. It got my horse. I cried
In drunken fury, cursing such a hell
Of smoke and cannon, carnage glorified
So the strong may dominate the earth. I had
A grandsire fall at Camden; Uncle Joe
Served with Old Hickory. My father, a lad
Of twenty, fought in the war with Mexico.

Shadows of war, its bitterness and pain,
Checkered the hard-won path my fathers hewed
From many a wilderness and still remain
Across a land conceived in fortitude.
I've prayed for peace, but I would fight again—
If Alabama needed fighting men.

LOUISE CRENSHAW RAY
Charlotte (N. C.) Observer

BOOK REVIEWS

Semmes of the Alabama by W. Adolphe Roberts. Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. \$2.75.

The Life of Johnny Reb by Bell Irvin Wiley. Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1943. \$3.75.

To think that a man from Mississippi can write a sympathetic book about the Confederate soldier and call it "Johnny Reb". To think that Southerners are permitting the title to stand without a single letter to the paper to protest that the Confederacy never rebelled. To think that the book was printed by an Indiana press and given glowing reviews by New York journals. These are very healthy signs, indeed. They suggest that sectional bitterness may finally disappear and that the War Between the States may really come to an end.

A recent editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* contained a discussion of the proposed plan for American education in post-war Germany. The writer opposed the plan. He based his opposition upon the fact that once before the United States had attempted to educate a conquered country and had failed ignominiously—the Confederate States. The United States' attempt to re-educate the South has had no notable success, as the *Saturday Evening Post* intimates. But it has had some very interesting results, some of which are coming to fruit at present.

In the past ten years Southern history has been written for the first time since Appomatox. The South has had sufficient economic power to establish presses, subsidize research workers, and command a national audience. The number of books about the South pouring from the South in the past ten years has been one of the major phenomena of contemporary literature. Many of these books are popular and ephemeral but many are very solid indeed. Sociological studies give exhaustive facts that permit no argument about economic and political conditions. Biographies, histories, and other studies have poured from the press to form a permanent contribution to American history and culture. Lee and his lieutenants, Davis and his cabinet, Lincoln's part in the firing on Sumter have all been subjected to the microscope.

These Southern studies are valuable in themselves and they are no less valuable in presaging an end to sectional bitterness. The first step in righting political and economic injustice is getting the facts before the public. And there is no little satisfaction in simply getting the facts before the public.—for the first time in seventy-five years. When all American textbooks are rewritten to include the data so ably presented by recent Southern scholars, when all Southern school children can learn Southern history from the book (instead of by word of mouth which contradicts the book), when all this and a few more things happen, then the War Between the States will really end.

Semmes of the Alabama and *The Life of Johnny Reb* are two particularly valuable additions to the "new" Confederate history of the past ten years, both written about phases of Confederate history that need clarifying. Less has been written about the men in the Confederate Navy, perhaps, than any other branch of the service, and the memoirs of various naval officers are largely out of print. Simply by dealing with the Navy, Mr. Roberts makes a valuable contribution and helps the general public to distinguish between the duties of an officer in the Confederate Navy and those of Rhett Butler, glamorous blockade-runner and rugged individualist. An exhaustive study of the daily life of the Confederate soldier is, needless to say, invaluable. Professor Wiley is the first to attempt it, giving us the content of diaries, letters, and journals written by hundreds of soldiers and obtained from hundreds of obscure and not-so-obscure sources. In addition to examining lesser known aspects of Confederate history with precision and fine scholarship, both Mr. Roberts and Professor Wiley present their facts in eminently readable prose.

Semmes of the Alabama is the biography of a naval officer who was also a lawyer, of one who successfully "wrestled all over the world with neutrality problems". This reserved, self-possessed gentleman endured many years of hum-drum shore duty in the United States Navy. When he was finally given his first ship (the *C.S.S. Sumter*, later the *C.S.S. Alabama*), he just as calmly proceeded to revolutionize naval history. With the famous *Alabama* he established the tactics later used by German raiders and U-boat packs. Semmes' *Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War Between the States* served as a text in the German Navy of Kaiser Wilhelm II. (However in all the eighty-seven vessels Semmes sank, no civilian was

killed, hurt, or provedly mistreated). Semmes sank so much American tonnage, too, that Mr. Roberts is led to agree with certain other students that this was an important factor in the decline of the American merchant marine.

It was Semmes' judgment and legal acumen that made him the great officer he was, Mr. Roberts believes. No foreign government could help him without endangering its neutrality. Nevertheless Semmes was able to get foreign aid throughout a period of three years and to pay for it. It was the judgment and ability of his officers and of the Confederate naval authorities in Richmond that sustained him. Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy for the Confederacy and former chairman of the United States Committee on Naval Affairs, Mr. Roberts considers one of the shrewdest and ablest men in the Cabinet. He re-affirms the worth of the foreign agents for the Confederacy and the officers of the *Alabama*. It is well known that they were largely former officers of the United States Navy. Little is known of the *Alabama's* crew beyond the fact that it was composed mostly of former merchant marine seamen recruited from a number of ports.

Such men and such a vessel are the essence of drama, and Mr. Roberts' narrative is dramatic although not at the expense of thoroughness. Such famous incidents as the *Alabama's* escape from Liverpool, her battle with the *Kearsarge*, the rescue of her crew by the yacht *Deerhound*, and her commanding officer's imprisonment and self-defense are told with a wealth of fast-moving detail. Many minor dramatic episodes and a number of amusing ones are included as well. There are accounts of the *Alabama's* triumphant receptions in Jamaica, Singapore, and Cape Town. There is the story of Semmes' breaking a drunken mutiny by drumming to quarters, of his joyous meeting with the *C.S.S. Georgia* in Bahia. There are also flashbacks to his wife in Cincinnati beset with false reports of the capture of the "pirate Semmes", as well as to the tragic fortunes of the Confederate Army.

Mr. Roberts brings the *Alabama's* odyssey to a close with a sense of high tragedy. Back to Europe she limps from the Indian Ocean, trying to get repair work done. Seams are agape, boilers rusted, and ammunition deteriorated. Denied repair work at Cherbourg, she challenges the *U.S.S. Kearsarge* outside the harbor. In the light of facts later known about the equipment of the *Kearsarge*, the death of the *Alabama* was inevitable.

The life and death of the *Alabama* with Semmes as commander is the core of Mr. Roberts' biography, although his narrative continues and includes his protagonist's services ashore and his last years in Mobile.

Mr. Roberts has not only made use of older biographies, but of newspapers and magazines and of much unpublished material furnished by the Semmes family and by archivists. The volume is made still more valuable by appendices which deal with "The Alabama Claims", "The Captures of the Sumter and Alabama", and "Semmes the Admiralty Judge".

Professor Bell Irvin Wiley's *Life of Johnny Reb* is an entirely different type of book. Here is the composite Confederate soldier as a person. Here is documentary proof of many of the things that Confederate veterans used to tell round-eyed children—and many that they refrained from telling.

The captions of the various chapters indicate Professor Wiley's approach to the complex character that is his hero: "Off to the War", "Baptism of Fire", "Besetting Sins", "Dear Folks". The most outstanding quality of this hero he believes to be individualism. With all the South's code of a military aristocracy, here was a citizen army with a vengeance.

This soldier hated military fuss and precision, saluting and such-like. He grumbled at an eternal diet of "beef & bread, bread an beef upper crust under crust an crum". This, of course, in the early days when he had food to grumble about. He grumbled at not getting his mail and at the condition of the parcels he finally did get. He liked his dram and his sentimental songs and his practical jokes. Upon occasion he took French leave and went home to visit his family or to help with the harvest. He came from every walk of life and every race, although he was largely Southern-born. College boys and members of socially organized military companies mixed with backwoodsmen and fishermen. His individuality made him somewhat of a trial to his officers in camp at times, but it also made him the superb fighter that he was in combat.

Professor Wiley's volume presents vividly the home front of the Confederacy as well as the fighting front. He makes it abun-

dantly clear why Lee surrendered. The Confederacy collapsed. Military materiel was scarce to begin with. Even with squads sent out on battlefields to gather up Federal arms, the Confederacy never had enough shoulder pieces to equip its soldiers, never throughout the entire four years. Substitute materials produced guns that burst and shells that did not. Food, Professor Wiley thinks, was plentiful until the last phases of the War, but distribution was not—and could not be—even moderately successful.

Moreover, because the Confederacy was based on states' rights, dictatorial methods from the central government were unpopular. States quarreled with the Confederacy about authority and urged their citizens not to give up pistols, food, and slaves to the central government. As the War went on, speculation and extortion grew. All this the soldier knew. He had need of the great religious revivals that swept the Confederate Army during the later years of the War. All this Professor Wiley tells in the words of the Confederate soldier, from letters, diaries and journals.

"Far from perfect" is Johnny Reb, according to Professor Wiley, "but his achievement against great odds in the scores of gory fights through four years of war are an irrefutable evidence of his prowess and an eternal monument to his greatness." Even after Appomattox, the Confederate soldier denied that he had been outfought. "Who was the cause of it?" writes an Alabama private. "Skulkers Cowards extortioners and Deserters not the Yankees. . ." And here are typical arithmetic problems from a Southern child's text:

"(1) A Confederate soldier captured eight Yankees each day for nine successive days; how many did he capture in all? (2) If one Confederate soldier can kill ninety Yankees, how many Yankees can ten Confederate soldiers kill? (3) If one Confederate soldier can whip seven Yankees, how many soldiers can whip forty-nine Yankees?"

Woodrow Wilson once remarked that the Confederate Army had the highest morale of any army that had previously existed. Professor Wiley does much to explain why that should be true.

—Emily Calcott.

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EDITORIAL

It has been decided by the management of the Alabama Historical Quarterly to devote one entire issue of the magazine to a reprint of "Annals of Louisiana from 1698 to 1722," by M. Penicaut, which include Alabama. The original of this rare document was found at the time it was published in New York in Volume 6, of B. F. French's "Historical Collection of Louisiana," in 1869, in the *Bibliothèque Du Roi, Paris*. In view of the fact that B. F. French's publication is inaccessible to the average student of Alabama history a reprint of this historical narrative of Alabama's earliest French Colonial history is deemed a useful service. The Alabama State Department of Archives and History during its entire existence has devoted its efforts towards the propagation of Alabama history and the preservation of all of its official and private records. It is gratifying to realize that the subject has never been of more widespread interest than at the present time. It is hoped that in the early future this State shall follow the example of some of the other States in the Union which stipulates that no student may graduate from its high schools who cannot pass an examination in their state history. By making Penicaut's story available through the school libraries to the older pupils of the public schools as well as the general public, a keener interest may be aroused in the subject. At any rate this magazine is very glad to devote its Fall issue to the reproduction of this narrative that has been tucked away on the shelves of old libraries for three quarters of a century.

Jean Penicaut, the author, states at the outset of his Annals that he was born in La Rochelle, France, in 1680 and was therefore but nineteen years of age when he reached our shores. He was a ship carpenter by occupation but evidently possessed a fair education. He came to that part of the South then called the Province of Louisiana, embracing later through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, all that area from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from Mexico to the Lake of the Woods. His "Annals", however, are concerned mainly with what is now Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. He came to this country with Iberville and his brother Bienville and shared the hardships and burdens of exploration and colonization with those two dauntless French-Canadians. Louis XIV was the King of France at the time and had

sent his expedition to establish sovereignty in the name of his kingdom over the area which was named in his honor—Louisiana.

Penicaut became a man of family and a slave holder, living finally on a tract of land near Natchez, Miss., which he purchased in 1720. The following year he returned to France on the advice of Bienville, then Governor of the Province of Louisiana, to secure treatment for an affection of his eyes. He returned, however, to the Province and was among the few Frenchmen who escaped the Indian massacre of 1729. The date and place of his death are unknown but the record that he left in his *Annals of Louisiana* is his own imperishable monument.

Attention of the reader is called to the fact that all footnotès and annotations in this reproduction were made by the editors of the B. F. French Company, who translated and published these "*Annals*" seventy-five years ago. The Editor of the *Quarterly* has not attempted to make any additional notes or elucidations in view of current history.



LOUIS XIV

King of France, 1638-1715.

Original painting by S. B. de Saint André, hung in Musée National, Versailles, 1670. Copied by Maltby Sykes, Alabama portrait painter, hanging in the French Room, World War Memorial Building, Montgomery, Alabama.

A N N A L S
of
L O U I S I A N A

From 1698 to 1722.

By M. PENICAUT.

Translated from a copy of the original manuscript deposited in the
Bibliotheque Du Roi, Paris.

CHAPTER I.

1698. I was born at *La Rochelle*, France. When I was fifteen years of age, I felt a strong desire to see foreign countries; and, to gratify my passion for travelling, I entered the service of his Majesty, in 1698, on board of the frigate *Le Marin*, commanded by M. Le Comte de Surgeres, and sailed from *La Rochelle* on the month of September of the same year, in company with the flag-ship *La Badine*, commanded by M. D'Iberville (who had received orders from the King to sail to the Gulf of Mexico, and take possession of Louisiana), and from *Brest* on the 24th of October. We had favorable winds as far as *Cape Francois** (St. Domingo), where we remained some
1699. days to take in fresh supplies, and sailed again, on St. Thomas' day, for the Gulf of Mexico, where we arrived on the King's day.

The first land we discovered were two islands, to one of which M. de Surgeres gave his name. This island is five leagues in length, and about a quarter of league in width. We cast anchor in the roadstead between this and the other island, which M. O'Iberville called *Cat Island*, because we found on it a great many cats. This island is seven leagues in length and

*M. D'Iberville was joined here by the frigate *Le Francois*, commanded by the Marquis de Chateaumorand, who returned to St. Domingo from Louisiana on the 21st of February, 1699, without taking any further part in the expedition.

about one quarter of a league in width, and distant about one league from *Surgeres Island*.^{*} We killed, there, a prodigious number of wild geese, which are called *outards* in this country, and are of a larger size than our geese in France. We found fish and oysters so abundant, that the crews of the two ships were greatly incommoded by eating too much of them. We saw no marks or vestiges of human habitations in either of these islands. There was an abundance of fresh water, of a palatable quality, although the islands are situated some five leagues distant from the main-land. We embarked, Feb. 27th, about one hundred men in two long-boats and a pinnance, to traverse the coast east and west, as the coast of Florida lies in that direction. We found a bay (*Biloxi*) about two leagues in circuit, and about five leagues from the island *Surgeres*. Within this bay there is an elevation
1699. of the land, where M. D'Iberville conceived the idea of constructing a fort, at which we worked unceasingly until it was finished. At the entrance of this bay there is a small island, about a league in length and an eighth of a league in width, called *Deer Island*, from the great number of those animals we found there. We worked eight days at the fort without seeing any of the natives. A party of our men being out hunting, the report of their guns was heard by some of them who were in the woods. They were greatly astonished, and resolved, among themselves, to approach and see what it could be. Perceiving some of our Frenchmen—who were engaged in cutting down trees contiguous to the fort, for the purpose of erecting houses—they examined them for a long time from their place of concealment behind the trees, wondering at the color of their faces, and the manner of their clothing. Some of the soldiers, seeing them, made signs with their hands to approach without fear. They then spoke to them in the *Iroquois* language—as the greater portion of our men were Canadians, and were familiar with the language of that nation. After a long parley, they approached us, after being reassured, and were conducted to M. D'Iberville, who received them very kindly, and gave them something to eat and drink. But, either their taste was not suited, or from fear of us, they refused to eat

^{*}Now called Ship Island, on account of the good anchorage it affords to ships coming from Europe.

or drink anything offered to them. They appeared wholly intent with gazing at us, and greatly astonished at seeing people whose skin was white, wearing long beards, and some without hair on their heads, such as they saw among us, and so different from themselves, whose skin is of a swarthy color, with heads covered with long black hair, which they are careful to preserve, and without beard. This nation called themselves *Biloxi*; and it was for this reason that M. D'Iberville gave the name to the fort we had built at this place (*Biloxi*). They remained with us two days. M. D'Iberville gave them several presents—such as awls, knives, mirrors, rings, beads, and vermilion. He showed them the use of these articles, which they carried to their village as presents to the chief. Very soon the rumor of the arrival of the French spread among the neighboring nations; and, in about eight days, great numbers of them came, with their chiefs at their head, to smoke the *calumet** and sing the song of peace, according to the Indian custom of treating all strangers who arrive amongst them, and with whom they desire to form an alliance and friendship. The *calumet* is a stick, about a yard in length, or a hollow cane, ornamented with the feathers of the paroquet, birds of prey, and of the eagle. These feathers, arranged around the stick resemble somewhat the fans used by French ladies. At the end of this stick is a pipe, to which the name of *calumet* is given. The chiefs of the savages, composed of five different nations, called *Pascagoulas*, *Colapissas*, *Chicachas*, *Pensacolas*, and *Biloxis*,* came with great ceremony to our fort, singing, and holding out to M. D'Iberville the *calumet*, who smoked it after the manner of the Indians. They then, as a mark of honor, rubbed his face with

**Calumet* means a pipe. It is a *Norman* word, derived from *Chalumeau*, which was the name of a rustic pipe or musical instrument used among the shepherds at their rural feasts and dances. The name of *calumet* was first given to this Indian pipe by the Normans, who settled in Canada at an early period, which it has ever since remained.

*These tribes, as well as most of those who lived on the east side of the *Mississippi* river, spoke the *Mobilian* language, although each tribe also conversed in dialects peculiar to themselves. See "Gallatin's Comparative Vocabulary of fifty-three Indian Nations;" "Hawkins' Vocabulary of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Cherokee Nations, in MS., in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia;" Benj. Smith Barton's "Comparative vocabularies of the Chickasaw, Conchac, and Mobilian."

white earth, as they also did the faces of the brother of M. D'Iberville, and several other officers. The feast of the *calumet* continued three days, during which time they danced and sung three times a day. The third day they erected a post in front of the gates of the fort, around which they danced; they then sought M. D'Iberville, who underwent the following ceremony: One of the Indians having presented his back, he mounted upon his shoulders, whilst another sustained his feet. They carried him to the place where the post was erected, keeping time to the sound of their *chichicois*—which are large gourds filled with small shells, making a rude sound, when shaken, though not very loud. They have another instrument, made from an earthen vessel, about the size of a small brass kettle, over which is extended a deer-skin, somewhat in imitation of a drum, which they beat upon with two sticks, and which gives out as much noise as do our drums. When they arrived before the post, they seated M. D'Iberville upon a deer-skin on the ground. One of the chiefs then seated himself behind his back, and patted him as you would a child that you desired to put asleep. They had spread upon the ground more than three hundred deer-skins, upon which the officers and soldiers were seated. After all were properly placed, 1699. the Indians, with their bows and arrows, which they carried in bundles on their backs, and wooden shields covered with beaver-skins in their right hands, went, by turns, to *strike the post* with their shields, at the same time singing over their deeds and actions in the wars in which they had been engaged. It is even permitted to everybody, women as well as boys, to go through the same ceremony.

The French then proceeded to the royal magazine, by order of M. D'Iberville, and brought knives, beads, vermillion, guns, lead, powder, mirrors, combs, kettles, cloaks, hats, shirts, breechings, rings, etc. The breechings are made of stuff five quarters of a yard, cut in two, lengthwise, passed around the hips, and thus cover their nakedness. The leggings are made of half a yard of cloth, cut in two, and sewed together like a pair of stockings, through which they pass their legs. Pickaxes and hatchets were also presented them. After which, M. D'Iberville then returned to his lodgings, leaving the savages in the square of the fort, who divided among themselves the presents distributed to

them, scrutinizing them all with astonishment, and but little comprehending the uses of most of them. It really gave us pleasure to witness their embarrassment. Some went to tell M. De'Iberville, who returned with the other officers to the square of the fort, and who could not restrain themselves from laughter. He directed that the use of each article should be pointed out to them. We then showed them how to wear their shirts, hats, breechings, and leggings. We sewed up their breechings and leggings so that they could wear them upon their hips; for our Canadians, of whom I have already spoken, were *au fait* in these matters. We placed powder in the pans of the guns which had been given to them, which were then loaded, and afterwards fired, but, when they saw the flash of the powder, they let go the gun, which fell to the ground, from the fear they had of them. M. D'Iberville ordered the men to fire off blank cartridges before them, which reassured them; and, as he found some among them bolder than the rest, one of the Indians made a sign that he wanted the guns reloaded, indicating that he would fire them. In place of leaning forward, as is customary, he held the gun to his shoulder, leaning backwards; the consequence was, the concussion knocked him head over heels, the gun going in one direction the the Indian in another. It was some fifteen days after this accident before any of them would again touch a gun. We fixed handles in their hatchets and pickaxes, and showed them how to use them. They testified to us, by signs, that they were highly pleased. Nevertheless, up to that time, their canoes, with which they went from place to place upon the river, were made by setting fire to the foot of a cypress tree, the fire continuing in the interior until it fell to the ground. They then burned it off at the desired length. When the tree was burned sufficiently for their purpose, they extinguished the fire with moist earth, and scraped it out with large shells, which are very thick. They then washed them with water, in such a manner as to give them a fine polish. These canoes are sometimes twenty-five or thirty feet long, but they make them of various lengths, according to the uses for which they are intended.

1699. When our fort was finished, M. D'Iberville returned to France (3d of May, 1699) leaving M. deSauvol in command;

M. DeBienville King's lieutenant; M. le Vasseur de Bous-souelle, major; De Bordenac, chaplain; and other officers.

After the departure of M. D'Iberville, we made preparations to go right and left in search of the *Mississippi*. We took with us some Indians as guides; coasting along in an easterly direction, we found a wide bay, called the *Bay of the Pascagoulas*; because, within this bay, there flows a river, upon the borders of which the *Pascagoulas* are established, at a distance of about twenty leagues inland, and it is from that nation the bay and river take their name. This bay is about five leagues east of *Fort Biloxi*, about one league across, and three in circuit. At its entrance there is an island, about one league distant, called *Round Island*, on account of its form. It is sterile, and uninhabited. Pursuing our course, along the coast in an easterly direction, and about a league from the bay, we came to a small river, called at the present time, by the same name we then gave it, *Fish River*, by reason of the great quantity of fish we found there. A league from the river, we found *Livcoak Point* (*Pointeaux-Chenes*), an excellent place for the chase, as game of every description abounds there. Three leagues from this point, we came to a river, called *Aderbane*, ten leagues distant from *Biloxi*. This name was given to it on account of a Frenchman, named Aberbane, who was lost there by drowning. It yet preserves the name. Three leagues further on, we came to *Oyster Point*, so called from the abundance of that shell-fish found there. This point is opposite to an island one league off, to which we crossed and landed. We were somewhat astonished to find upon this island a prodigious number of human bones, forming a mound of considerable elevation. We since learned that these were the bones of a once numerous nation, who being pursued by their enemies, took refuge on this island, where nearly all perished from some terrible disease that broke out among them; their bones were brought together and heaped up, after the custom of the Indian tribes. This nation was called *Mobile*, a few of whom at present survive. The island is covered with two species of forest trees, cedar and pine, of a very agreeable odor. M. DeBienville, our commanding officer, named it *Massacre Island* (*Dauphin*). It is about seven leagues long, by a quarter of a league wide. Coasting along the island to return, we crossed a pass, about half a league wide, at the head of which was another island, called *Horn Island*, because

one of our men there lost his powder horn. This island is about three leagues from the main-land, and of the same length and width of *Massacre Island*. It is barren, and is covered with the same species of trees as the other. When we made the head of this island, we sailed for the island *Surgeres*, where we had a grand hunt, after which we crossed over to the fort, for the purpose of resting for a few days.

At the end of fifteen days, we set out again, in search of a pass through which we could go to discover the *Mississippi* river, to the west of our fort. The coast, here, all along, is very flat. We found a bay, about one league in width by four in circumference, forming, in shape, a half circle. We called it the *Bay of St. Louis* because it was on the day of St. Louis that we arrived there. It is about eight leagues west of *Fort Biloxi*. We landed, and found game of every kind in great abundance. We killed, here, more than fifty deer. At the end of three days, we set out again, and, at about three leagues distance, found a small stream, where the tide ebbs and flows. Our Indian guides told us this stream would take us into a large lake; but, as we did not well understand them, we made signs to them that we wanted to pass outward. At two leagues, we found a small island, about a quarter of a league from the sea, to which we gave the name of *Heron's Pass*, on account of the vast number of those birds found there. We left the sea on the larboard side, and, at three leagues, we came to an island, which we called *Pea Island*, because a sack of peas was left there through forgetfulness. We hurried off an hour before daylight, to get rid of the annoyance of swarms of small flies, or *cousins*, which the Indians call *Maragouins*, and which puncture even to the drawing of blood. The stream we had met with corresponded with this place; and, four leagues further on, we discovered a large lake, which M. DeBienville named Pontchartrain. This about twenty-eight leagues in circumference, and seven wide. Its embouchure, at the entrance, is a quarter of a league from one side to the other. Both sides of the pass, or entrance, is covered with shells, and in such quantity that they form an elevation, which was the reason it was called *Pointe-aux-Coquilles*. When one has passed through this channel, on looking ahead, you see, at the distance of a league and a half to the left, a projection of land, called *Pointe-aux-Herbes*, where the boats were placed under shelter; because, in this

place, the water is shallow, and, in heavy gales, canoes are sometimes lost there. Six leagues further on is a small river, called by the Indians, *Choupicatcha*, which the French afterwards called *Orleans* (*Bayou St. John*) because since that time, as will be seen in its proper place, the city of New Orleans was built near this river, about a league from the lake. Five leagues further, turning always to the left on the lake shore, we found a bay of still water, which the Indians called *bayou*, which is a kind of drain, or gully, through which the waters of the higher grounds are carried off. We encamped here, as our Indian guides told us we could cross over from this place to the *Mississippi* river *

Next morning, having secured our boats in this cove, we started on foot to go to the banks of the river. We passed, three quarters of a league, through a cypress forest. These trees are only found in low and swampy countries, which grow to a prodigious height, and bear a fruit resembling an olive. After this forest, we passed through a cane-break, which bears a kind of oats, of which the Indians make bread, of an agreeable taste. They also make a soup from it, which they call *sagamite*. Having crossed these canes for a quarter of a league, we arrived on the borders of the *Mississippi*, at which we were greatly rejoiced. We regarded this beautiful river with admiration, which is at least half a
1699. league wide at the place where we first saw it, about forty leagues from its entrance into the sea. The water is of a light color, very good to drink, and very light. The country, on its banks, appeared to be everywhere covered with splendid trees of every description, such as oak, ash, elm, and many others, the names of which we did not know. We encamped that night on the river's bank, under the trees, upon which a vast number of wild turkeys roosted. We killed as many of them as we wanted by moonlight, as they

*Previous to the exploration of this river by Father Marquette and Joliet, the natives of the North sometimes called it *Meshacbe* (or *Great River*). *Namese-Sipon* (or *River of the Fishes*). In some places Tapata, and, where it entered the Gulf of Mexico, *Ri*. The Indian name, says Garcilaso de la Vega, on the authority of Juan Coles, one of DeSota's followers, was *Chucagua*, and, by the Gentleman Elvas, *Rio Grande*; afterwards by the Spaniards, *LaPalisade* and *Rio Escondido*; by the French, *Mississippi*, *Colbert*, and *St. Louis*.

were not in the least disturbed or afraid of the firing of our guns. I can truly say, that I never saw turkeys in France so fat and large as these were, as their net weight was about thirty pounds! The next day, we returned to our boats, and our companions, whom we had left as a guard, were highly delighted to learn we had slept on the banks of the mighty river. We continued on our way, along the borders of *Lake Pontchartrain*, in order to make the circuit of it, and, at the distance of about five leagues further on, encamped on the borders of a *manchac*, which signifies, in the French language, a strait, a pass, or a rivulet, flowing from the *Mississippi*.

Through this pass we entered another lake, a short distance from the first, which we now called *Lake Maurepas*; it is about ten leagues in circumference, and two across. The following day we continued our route, coasting along the shores of *Lake Pontchartrain*, and, at about one league from *Manchac*, found another river, called, by our Indian guides, *Tangibao*,* which means white corn (*bled-blanc*). The water of this river is very agreeable. Three leagues beyond, following the same channel, we found a *bayou*, or tranquil water, called *Castein Bayou*, which signifies the place of the passes. Next day, five leagues from this *bayou*, we came to a river falling into the lake, called, by the Indians, *Talcatcha*, which signifies the *River of the Pearls*. Here we found those shells previously mentioned, with which the Indians scrape out their canoes after burning. Beautiful pearls are sometimes found in those shells. We presented some two dozen, or more, to M. de Bienville, our commander. This river is only about three leagues from *Pointe-aux-Cochilles*. At this place we left *Lake Pontchartrain*, and ascended it for the distance of half a league to another of its branches, which passes *Pca Island*, which is about three leagues from the forks of the river. We encamped here, by reason of the accommodations afforded by the river, the water of which was excellent to drink, and a great convenience to our men, as the water of *Lake Pontchartrain* is brackish, and is affected by the ebb and flow of the sea.

*It also took its name from a tribe of Indians that lives on its banks.

The next day we left *Pea Island*, and passed through the little *Rigolets*, which lead into the sea about three leagues from the *Bay of St. Louis*. We encamped at the entrance of the bay, near a fountain of water that flows from the hills, and which was called, at this time, *Belle-Fountain*. We hunted, during several days, upon the coast of this bay, and filled our boats with the meat of the deer, buffaloes, and other wild game which we had killed, and carried it to the fort (*Biloxi*). On arriving
1699. there, we gave to M. de Souvol, our commander-in-chief, a detailed account of the discovery of that river, incomparably beautiful, as well on account of its size as of its charming borders. M. De Bienville presented to him the pearl we had found in the shells of *Pearl River*, which he said he would give to M. d'Iberville; we never afterwards heard of those pearls, and did not know whether they were of a fine quality or not. Some days after our return, the Indians, whom we had as guides, expressed to M. de Souvol a desire to return to their village, and wished we would go with them. M. de Sauvol gave them to understand that it would give him great pleasure to comply with their request. We set out in one of our long-boats, manned by ten or twelve Frenchmen; and, after leaving the fort, encamped at the mouth of the river, of the same name as themselves (*Pascagoulas*), which empties into the bay of that name. We ascended the river twenty leagues from its entrance into the sea, and, on the third day, arrived at their village. As it was near the end of August, and the weather very warm, all the Indians there were as naked as when born—that is, the men and boys; but the women and girls had a little moss fastened to their thighs, which covered their nakedness, the rest of their body being entirely naked. This moss is an herb of a long, fine fibre, growing upon the trees, which the French of this part of the country called *Spanish-beard*, by way of derision, and which the Spaniards, in retort, called the *French-wig*. We were perfectly well received by their grand chief, and by all the inhabitants of the village. They gave us something to eat and drink—among other things, bear, deer, and buffalo meat, and all kinds of fruit, of which they have an abundance, such as peaches, prunes, watermelons, pumpkins, and all of an excellent flavor. The pumpkins are far superior to those in France; they are cooked without water, and the juice which comes from them is as sweet as syrup made from sugar. As regards the watermelons, they are nearly the same as in France. The fish are

larger and better; but the prunes are not so good; there are two sorts—white and red. They served us, also, with their *sagamite*, which is a boiled dish, made of corn and beans. Their bread is made from corn and a species of grain, which grows upon the cane. They have wooden as well as earthen plates, and we observed that they were very well made*. Their women, also, make earthen pots, in which they cook *sagamite*, at one time, sufficient for two or three families. In this manner they arrange, among themselves, so as not to be obliged to cook every day, each one taking turn about. Their cabins were made of earth, and of a round shape, somewhat like our windmills, the roofs being generally covered with bark; but some were covered with a species of leaf, which is called, in this country, *Latanier* (*palmetto*), a shrub peculiar to the country.

One thing I have particularly observed among these savages, to wit: that, however, abundant provisions may be with them, they never eat to excess; but, very improperly, they always eat with their fingers, although they have spoons made from the horns of the buffalo. Their meat is generally smoked, or buccaneered, as they say in that country. They have, nevertheless, a kind of gridiron, under
1699. which they kindle a slow fire, merely drying the meat, the smoke contributing to this effect as much as the heat of the fire.

The Indians, when they dance, beat a noise with their drums and *chichois*, and form into bodies of twenty or thirty together. A dancing-master keeps at the head of each band. At the sound of a whistle, they break from their ranks, intermingling with each other, always observing a particular cadence; at another blow of the whistle they form into rank again, and whirl around with wonderful uniformity.

We slept at the house of the grand chief, upon beds of canes covered with buffalo-skins. The next day we went to visit their fields, where they cultivate the corn. The

*The pottery of the Southern Indians, especially the *Natchez*, was artistically made. Many beautiful specimens may be found in private cabinets in the South, not inferior to the best specimens of Mexican and Peruvian art.

women were at work with the men. The Indians have flat sticks, with which they break up the grounds, for they do not understand the mode of using utensils as we do in France. They scrape the ground with a stick, and cut down the brushwood and weeds, which they leave in the sun to dry, which, after a time, they burn, and after they are burnt to ashes, they take a large stick, with which they dig a hole in the ground, and place seven or eight grains of corn in each hole, and cover it with earth. When the corn is about one foot high, they take great care of it, as we do in France, and remove all the weeds, an operation which is performed two or three times during the season. They even, at the present time, use their wooden instruments in preference to those of iron, which we have given them, because they are lighter. After remaining some time in their village, we returned to the fort.

CHAPTER II.

1700. We were very impatient for the return of M. d'Iberville, being constantly on the look-out for him at the point projecting from the fort.* Finally, on the morning of the King's day (6th January, 1700), we heard the firing of cannon from *Surgeres Island*, five leagues distant from our fort, announcing the arrival of M. d'Iberville, in command of the *Renommee*, of fifty guns, and M. de Surgeres of the *Gironde*, of forty-six guns. M. de Sauvol also gave orders to announce their arrival by a discharge of all the guns and musketry at the fort (*Biloxi*). M. d'Iberville was received with every possible demonstration of joy; but he only remained a few days at the fort, at the end of which he selected sixty men to go with him to the *Mississippi*, among whom were his two brothers, M. M. de Bienville and de Chateauguay, M. M. de Boisbriant and Juchereau de St. Denis, and left M. de Souvol, the commander of the fort,
1700. in charge of the ships, who gave orders to have the merchandise and ammunition placed in the King's stores. We then took our departure, to ascend the *Mississippi*, from its entrance into the sea, first making a stop at our ships, to take in the necessary provisions. M. d'Iberville also consulted with M. de Surgeres, as to care and security of the ships during his absence. We left the ships in three long boats (*chaloupes*), and encamped seventeen leagues west of *Fort Biloxi*, near *Point a l' Assiette*, thus named because M. d'Iberville had lost a silver plate there. Our next encampment was twelve leagues further on, at a point called *Trepied*. The next day, we landed on the banks of a small river, six leagues further on, named *Dog River*, because one of our dogs was devoured there by a crocodile; and, six leagues from there, we came to the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which we entered, and encamped on the right bank ascending.

The entire coast, from *Fort Biloxi* to the entrance of the river, and for eighteen leagues in ascending, the land is very low, having been formed by the alluvion precipitated by the waters of the *Mississippi* at high water. There are three passes

*This picturesque point, or bluff, now overgrown with the magnificent live-oak and forest trees of the South, is still a prominent feature of interest to the traveller and antiquarian, in the landscape that surrounds the fort and *Bay of Biloxi*, the seat of the first French colony in Louisiana.

at the mouth of the river, forming two small islands. The straightest of the passes, which is to the right, is the deepest, although there are at times but eleven feet of water in it. We entered the river on the 15th, and, after having ascended ten leagues, we met with a dense forest of trees, bordering the river, on the right and left. At this distance, there is a small strait, or pass, through which the waters of the river enter. We named it *Bayou Mardi Gras*, from the day on which we passed it. Eight leagues higher up, M. d'Iberville observed a spot very convenient for the erection of a fort, which he resolved to construct when he descended the river. Eight leagues beyond is a bend in the river, three leagues around, which is called the *English Turn*, the reason for which I will give in its proper place. Twenty-four leagues higher up, on the left, is a river, 1700. called *Chetimachas*,* and five leagues beyond this is the first Indian nation inhabiting the banks of the river, called the *Bayagoulas*, where we arrived on the 19th February. So soon as they perceived us, they fled with their women and children into the woods, so that, when we entered their village, we found no one there. M. d'Iberville was not surprised at this, he believing that it was through fear of us they had abandoned their houses. He immediately dispatched two Frenchmen and an Indian, to assure them of our pacific intentions. They ran after, and overtook them in a short time, as they were impeded by their children. Our Indian spoke to them, and told them we were good people, and advised them to return. Although somewhat distrusting, they returned with the *calumet* of peace in their hands. When they arrived at the village,† they presented the *calumet* to M. d'Iberville, and the other officers, to smoke. They also supplied us with flour, which is diluted with water, and 1700. baked; also with bread, fish, and meats, prepared after their fashion. A little while after, they sang the *calumet*, after the

*This branch of the *Mississippi* (*Bayou La Fourche*), is one of the principal outlets of the river to the gulf. The present town of Donaldsonville is built on the site of an ancient village of the *Chetimachas*, one of the most interesting tribes of Indians of Louisiana. A vocabulary of this nation, by Martin Duralde, in manuscript, is deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. J. S. Vater, *Analekten der Sprachenkunde*. Leipzig, 1821.

†The village of the *Bayagoulas* was situated about twelve leagues below *Baton Rouge*, who were much attached to the French. They cultivated tobacco and corn, and were an intelligent and industrious race of Indians.

manner of the Indians.* In the evening, they asked if we had eaten enough, and if we wanted a woman for each man. M. Iberville showed them his hand, told them their skin was red and swarthy, and should not be blended with that of the French, which was white. We remained three days in their village, until their *calumet* was finished; made them presents of some *bagatelles*, such as mirrors, rings, pick-axes, etc., which they beheld with admiration, and afterwards we showed them how to use them. M. O'Iberville told the chief that he would depart in the morning, and would like some fowls to take with him. The village was filled with them, and they supplied us bountifully. We took four of this nation as guides, and left with them a young Frenchman, to learn their language.

We took our departure the next morning, and, at the distance of about five leagues, in ascending on the right hand side, came to the *Manchac*, a small stream, of which I have already spoken, that empties into *Lake Pontchartrain*. Its current is very rapid, which renders the ascent difficult, besides, it is very narrow. Five leagues above this stream we came to where the banks of the river are very high, called in that country *bluffs* (*ecores*), and, in the Indian language, *Istrouma*, which signifies 1700. *Baton Rouge* (*Red Post*) because at that place there is a post painted red, which the Indians have placed there to mark the boundary line of the territory of the two nations—the *Bayagoulas*, whence we had come, and another Indian nation, about thirty leagues above *Baton Rouge*, called the *Oumas*. So jealous were those two nations of their hunting groups, that they put to death all of their neighbors whom they found trespassing beyond the limits of the red post (*Baton Rouge*). But such is not the case at the present time, as they go to the chase everywhere together, and are all friends. Five leagues above this post, on the right hand side, there are very high bluffs of white earth, about three quarters of a league in length, at the upper part of which is a neck of land, seven leagues in circuit. To avoid going round this point, M. d'Iberville had the boats transported across this neck of land, which is about a musket-shot

*The ceremony of presenting the *calumet* is minutely described by Father Marquette in his narrative of the discovery of the *Mississippi* river. See First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," *New York*, 1846, Vol. 1, p. 290.

wide, and, in a very short space of time, we were on the other side of the *Mississippi*. Such is the rapidity of the current, that the waters soon after wore a channel through this place, from which cause this post took the name of *Point Coupee*.

- Opposite a small island, eight leagues higher up, is a portage, rendered remarkable by a cross, which M. d'Iberville planted, and where we chanted the "*Vexilla Regis*"* on our knees, a ceremony which appeared strange to those Indians.
1700. We explained to them that the cross was an emblem greatly esteemed in our religion, and that they should preserve it from being thrown down. We called this place *Portage de la Croix*. Here is the main route to the village of the *Oumas* Indians,* which is situated two leagues inland. M. d'Iberville and his officers landed at this place, and went to their village, after giving orders to make the detour of the point with the boats, where they would rejoin us. The distance around was ten leagues. We discovered the mouth of a large river, called *Sabloniere* (*Red River*); it falls into the *Mississippi* on the left hand side in ascending. We will speak of this river more fully hereafter.

Two leagues beyond, we found the *Bay of the Oumas*, in front of which was a small island. We landed there on the 7th of March, on the borders of which is their village. M. d'Iberville, and all the officers had been there two days. We remained three days, and, after they had finished chanting the *calumet*. M. d'Iberville made them presents, as he had done to the others. They gave us poultry and game, which we carried to our boats; nor did we fail to take four of them as guides in place of the four *Bayagoulas*, whom we sent back. Thus, we changed from one nation to the other, in order not to fatigue them; and, at the same time, in arriving among them, they would have less

*"*Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulgis crucis mysterium.*"

The Banners of Heaven's King advance,
The mystery of the Cross shines forth.

*The nation of the *Oumas*, or *Houmas*, occupied a district of country on the east side of the river, about twelve leagues above the *Bayagoulas*, and were much attached to the French. They were reduced, by sickness and war, to less than a hundred warriors, when Louisiana was ceded to the United States. The grant of land to the Marquis d'Ancenis was situated about six leagues below this nation.

fear and distrust by seeing other Indians with us.

1700. Upon leaving the village of the *Oumas*, we kept on our upward route, fifteen leagues above. The river, here, is divided into three channels, forming two islands about half a league in length; and, one league above these, we coasted along on the right hand side, where the banks are of a prodigious height (*Ellis' Cliffs*). At the head of these bluffs is a small river (St. Catherine), that comes from a village four leagues distant, and one league back from the river. We landed, in order to visit the village, where we were perfectly well received. These Indians are called the *Natchez*, and are the most civilized of all the nations. They were very kind and obliging to M. d'Iberville and his officers, who had arrived there on the 5th of March, and concluded a treaty of peace. They chanted the *calumet* of peace during three days, at the end of which we departed, laden with game and poultry. M. d'Iberville distributed to them presents, as he had done to all the nations who had chanted the *calumet*. In the sequel, we will speak of their manners, of their religion, and of their temples.

On the 12th of April, we left the *Natchez*, and coasted along to the right, where the river is bordered with high gravelly banks for a distance of twelve leagues; at the extremity of these bluffs is a place we call *Petit Gulf*, on account of the whirlpool formed by the river, for the distance of a quarter of a league. Eight leagues higher up, we came to *Grand Gulf*, which we passed, a short distance above, on the left hand side. We landed, to visit a village, situated four leagues in the interior. These Indians are called the *Tensas*.* We were well received; but I never saw a more sad, frightful, and revolting spectacle than that which happened the second day (16th of April) after our arrival in this village. A sudden storm burst upon us. The lightning struck the temple, burned all their idols, and reduced the whole to ashes. Quickly, the Indians assembled around, making horrible cries, tearing out

*The *Tensas* nation was allied to the *Natchez*, and spoke the French and *Mobilian*. The Catholic missionaries never succeeded in making any converts among them. They scrupulously observed all the religious rites and ceremonies of the *Natchez*.

their hair, elevating their hands to heaven, their tawny visages turned toward the burning temple, invoking their *Great Spirit*, with the howling of devils possessed, to come down and extinguish the flames. They took up mud, with which they besmeared their bodies and faces. *The fathers and mothers then brought their children, and, after having strangled them, threw them into the flames.* M. d'Iberville was horrified at seeing such a cruel spectacle, and gave orders to stop it, by forcibly taking from them the little innocents; but, with all our efforts, *seventeen* perished in this manner and, had we not restrained them, the number would have been over two hundred.

At the close of the third day of chanting the *calumet* of peace, M. d'Iberville distributed his presents as usual, but in greater number than he had to the other tribes. He persuaded them, also, to abandon their present location, and establish themselves on the banks of the *Mississippi*.

As the period of his return to France was rapidly approaching, and the other tribes were too remote for a present visit, he resolved to descend the river.* We set off the next morning, 1700. and, in the evening arrived at the *Natchez*, where we encamped, and met M. de St. Come, a Catholic missionary. Next morning, the chiefs of that nation came to reconduct M. d'Iberville to the banks of the river. He promised to send them a French lad, in order to acquire a knowledge of their language. The next evening, we encamped at the *Oumas*, as we progressed rapidly with the strong current of the river. Afterwards, we went to the *Portage de la Croix*, and then to the *Bayagoulas*, where we found the French boy whom M. d'Iberville had left in our ascent, and who had already made considerable progress in the knowledge of their language. M. d'Iberville told him to remain in the village, to serve as an interpreter for those who should pass this way. We next arrived at the spot that M.

*On the 22d of April, 1700, M. de Bienville set out with M. de Saint Denis, and twenty Canadians and Indians, to visit the Yatasse nation, on *Red River*, and, on the same day, M. d'Iberville returned to the fleet, where M. de Bienville afterwards joined him.

d'Iberville had marked out as a suitable place for a fort,** where we found a gun-boat, which M. de Bienville had brought from Biloxi, with materials for its construction.

1700. M. de Bienville, in descending from the *Natchez* on his route to Biloxi, met, on the 16th of September, a small English frigate,* careened in a bend of the river, about three leagues in circuit. He demanded the captain what he was doing in the *Mississippi*, and if he was not aware that the French had already established themselves in this country? The Englishman was much astonished, and replied that he was ignorant of the fact, and soon after retraced his steps to the sea, at the same time uttering threats against M. de Bienville and the French. It was from this circumstance that the bend of the river was afterwards called the *English Turn*.

M. d'Iberville having traced the plan and size of the fort which had been commenced, he made the necessary arrangements to supply it with provisions, and six cannons for the battery fronting the river; and, placing his brother, M. de Bienville, in command, with twenty-five men, he returned to Biloxi, followed by two of our long-boats, and five French Canadians, who, hearing of our establishment at Biloxi, had come to trade with us.

He made us row night and day till we reached our ships, where he had a conference with M. de Surgeres, relative to the quantity of provisions on hand. He then went to the fort, at *Biloxi*, to examine the amount of ammunition there, and increased the garrison with the addition of sixty Canadians, which he had brought with him on his first voyage with M. de

**This fort was built after the attempt made by the English to plant a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi*. At the foot of the cross, erected near the fort, the following inscription, on the leaden plate, was affixed, by order of M. d'Iberville:—D.O.M. *The French first came here from Canada under M. de la Salle, 1682. From the same place, under M. de Tonty, in 1665. From the Sea Coast, under M. d'Iberville, in 1700, and planted this cross Feb. 14, 1700.*

*This frigate was commanded by Captain Barr, and was fitted out, in 1698, by the English, with instructions to take possession of Louisiana, and establish a colony on the banks of the *Mississippi* river. First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Part III, p. 230.

- Surgeres. After having taken leave of M. M. de Souvol and de Boisbriant, he set sail for France on the 3d of May, 1700. But, before his departure, he recommended M. de Souvol to place twenty men, under the command of M. le Sueur, to go to the copper mines in the country of the *Sioux*, about nine hundred leagues from the mouth of the river, and above the *Falls of St. Anthony*.

I was recommended, by M. de Souvol, to join this expedition, because, being a ship-carpenter in his Majesty's service, my services would be necessary in building and repairing boats, and, from this circumstance, I was an eye-witness to what I here relate. After M. le Sueur had laid in provisions, and all the necessary mining implements, he embraced M. de Souvol, and, at the end of April, took his departure, with one long-boat, in which were twenty-five men. I will not make any unnecessary description here of the country, as I have already described the several places on the *Mississippi* as far as the *Tensas*. We started off the next day, and were twenty-four days in reaching the *Tenas*, on account of the current of the river, which, towards the end of May, becomes very rapid, from the melting of the snow in the mountains, which swells the tributaries of this river at this season of the year.

After we had passed the *Tensas*, ten leagues above, on the right hand side, we came to a river, called the *Yasous* (*Iajoux*). Four leagues higher up, on the right, we found a number of villages, where six nations were dwelling—the *Yasous*, *Offogoulas*, *Tonicas*,* *Coroas*, *Bitoupas*, and the *Oussipes*. In one of those villages, we found a French priest, who was accompanied by a servant; also a Frenchman, who showed us much kindness and attention, and were delighted to meet with us. He came among these Indians as a missionary, to endeavor to convert some of them. The next morning, before our departure, he

*The *Tonicas*, or *Tunicas*, formerly lived on the east side of the Mississippi River, above *Point Coupe*. They were a powerful nation, and always lived upon good terms with the French. They assisted them in their wars with other nations, and especially against the *Natches*, for which the King of France presented their chief with a gold-headed cane and silver medal. They spoke the French and *Mobilian* languages. A vocabulary of their language, in manuscript, is deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

performed mass. We told him M. de'Iberville had formed a French establishment in the country, but he had already been informed of it. After giving his benediction, he embraced us all, and, accompanying us to the boats, bade us adieu.

From this place, we ascended the river some sixty leagues to a river, called *Arkansas* (*Tonty*), about half the width of the *Mississippi*, and runs from the north and west. Eight leagues above the mouth of this river, on the left is the *Arkansas* nation, from which the river takes its name. There are two other tribes in their village, called the *Tourimans* and the *Cappas* (*Quawpas*). They gave us a kind reception, and chanted the *calumet*, but they could furnish us with but few provisions, as the high waters had driven all their cattle and game into the interior. This is a very warlike nation. They are great hunters, and live entirely by the chase when the waters of the *Mississippi* are low, for, at that time, their country is full of game. This is the reason they are not fond of labor, and give but little attention to the culture of their fields. Their women do much more labor than the men. They are handsome, and almost white.

1700. The men are stout, and thick-set. We found an English trader here, who was of great assistance in obtaining provisions for us, as our stock was rapidly declining, which caused us to hurry our departure. Twenty leagues above, we found a river, which we called *St. Francis*, a name it retains to this day. It is about a league in circumference. Twenty leagues higher up, on the right hand side, the banks are very elevated; a small river empties into it, called *Riviere a Margot* (*Wolf*). It is by this river you go to the village of the *Chicasaws*, distant about thirty leagues from the borders of the *Mississippi*. As the village was so far off, we did not visit it. Forty leagues above, on the right, ascending, are the *Prudhomme Bluffs* so named from a French Canadian, who had built a block-house fort here, in which he died, and which yet bears his name. Fifty leagues above on the same side, are the *Iron Banks*, or *bluffs*, and five leagues beyond the mouth of the river *Wabash* (Ohio), its course being from east to west, and as large as the *Mississippi* at its mouth. In ascending this river, you can go as far as Canada. Its banks abound in every species of game.

Ten leagues from the mouth of the river, another falls into

it, called *Kasquinempas** (Tennessee). It takes its source from the neighborhood of the *Carolina*, and passed through the village of the *Cherokees*, a populous nation, that number some fifty thousand warriors.

Fifteen leagues above the mouth of the *Wabash* (Ohio), on the right hand side of the *Mississippi*, you meet with the *Cape* 1700. *of St. Anthony*. This is the place where the French come to get millstones. Near this cape our provisions totally failed us. We were obliged to remain here for twenty-two days for supplies. Each one of us was obliged to take our guns, and go into the woods, and seek for the necessaries of life. Some of our men were obliged to subsist upon the sap, young leaves, and tender buds of the trees, as it was spring time, and the river's banks were already overflowed in many places. Three of our comrades went on the other side of the *Mississippi* with a canoe, where, having landed, they fastened it to a tree, and, being separated in the hunt, they killed some bears, which we found excellent eating.

We waited at this place for provisions, because the priest we had met some days previous opposite the *Purdhomme Bluffs*, was on his way to the sea, to visit M. d'Iberville, and who, having learned of his return to France, had changed his intention. Before returning to the Illinois, he had given us all the provisions he could spare, and even deprived himself of those which were necessary. M. le Sueur begged him to send us a canoe loaded with provisions, and we would await him at Cape St. Anthony, for we were so feeble from want of nourishment, that we could not continue our voyage. He departed immediately, and promised to pursue his route day and night, in order to come to our relief as soon as possible. Nor did he fail in his word: for, as soon as he returned to the Illinois, he sent a canoe filled with every kind of provisions, which reached us in twenty-two days, in our greatest distress.

Father Limoges was in this canoe, with four Frenchmen, who were to conduct him to Biloxi. We thus passed three 1700. days in repairing our strength, at the end of which we again took our departure. Six leagues higher up, we came to *Cape*

*This river is sometimes called the *Casquinambaux*, or *Cheraquis*, on old maps.

St. Comes, and eight leagues thence to the mouth of the Illinois.

The *Kaskaskias* have, within a few years, established themselves in a place two leagues from this river in the interior. There is a small desert island opposite the mouth of this river. Ascending three leagues further, we came to *Little Salt River*, thus called, because in the neighborhood are found two branches (*Gabourie* and *Plâtine*) of salt water. This is the place where the French, among the *Illinois*, come to get their salt. We remained here some days to hunt deer, which are found in great numbers, as those animals are very fond of salt. Eight leagues higher up, we came to a small river, called *Maramecq* (*Marameg*). It is by this route that the Indians go to the lead mines, which are about fifty leagues distant up the Mississippi. Ten leagues further, we came to a village of the Illinois, situated on the banks of the river. We approached, with our sails up, and saluted them with a volley of a dozen muskets; these Indians were much surprised, but particularly so at our long-boats, as they had never before seen anything larger than bark canoes from Canada, and a few *pirogues* from Louisiana. Several came on board, together with a number of Canadian traders, who were purchasing furs and skins. The French, living among the *Illinois*, placed themselves under arms, to give a suitable reception to M. le Sueur, whom they had formerly known. These were, besides three French missionaries in the village, 1700. also M. Bergier, the grand vicar from the Bishop of Canada, M. M. Bouteville and de St. Come; also two Jesuits, Father Pinet* and Father Limoges. The Indians chanted the calumet with M. le Sueur, who, in return, made them considerable presents. We remained seventeen days in this village, where four of our men left us to go to Canada. We took five others in their place, among whom was a person named Chapougar, who acted as interpreter, as he spoke nearly all the Indian languages.

In front of this village of the Illinois is a small island, which conceals the entrance to it. It is only by a small branch of the *Mississippi* that it can be approached. All around and

*Father Hugues Pinet went to the Illinois as early as 1670, three years before Marquette and Joliet explored the *Mississippi*, to establish a mission among the *Tamaroas* (*Cahokias*).

beyond the village is a prairie, and, in the distance, lofty hills, which give a magnificent perspective. After having taken leave of all our acquaintances, we continued our route up the river. Six leagues more brought us to the mouth of the Missouri. This river has a very rapid current, especially in the spring of the year, when the waters are high. On passing beyond the islands which it inundates, it roots up the trees and drags them along in its course; it is from this cause that the *Mississippi* is filled with floating trees during the spring floods; it also assumes its color from this river, neither sources of which have ever yet been discovered. The Indians dwelling on the banks of the *Mississippi*, when the waters are low, in the months of August and December, go to the mines. I will not speak of those dwelling on the banks of the *Missouri*, because we have never yet ascended it. After having passed its mouth we continued our route up the *Mississippi*, and, six leagues above, came to the grand river of the *Illinois*, on the right hand side, where we were joined by three Canadian travellers, who brought M. le Sucur a letter from Father Marest. It is by this river you go to Canada. Opposite its mouth commences a series of the most beautiful and most extensive prairies in the world. Continuing our route ten leagues higher up, we came to *Bocuf River* (*Buffalo*), to the right and left of which are steep rocks. We ascended this river half a league, and encamped on its banks. Four of our men went out on a hunt, and killed a wild buffalo, about half a league from our encampment. Immediately one of the hunters came in for assistance to carry the game into camp, which we did with great pleasure, as we were very hungry, having had a fatiguing day's journey, with but little to eat. When it was cooked, we ate a good part of it at the same time emptying several bottles of brandy, which greatly invigorated us.

Thirty-five leagues beyond this, we came to a mountain (*La Montagne qui trempe dans l'eau*), situated nearly in the centre of the river, though a little inclined to the right side.

Sixty leagues from this, we came to a prairie, looking very charming, from its beauty and size, at the upper side of which passes a river, flowing into the *Mississippi*; we called it *Moin-*

gano (*Des Moines*), from the name of an Indian tribe dwelling upon its banks. One league above the mouth of this river, we came to a rapid, cut up into cascades. This was seven leagues in length, and we were obliged to discharge our boats, get into
 1700. the water, and push them along with our hands. At the end of those seven leagues, we found the river navigable.

On the left of these rapids are open prairies, extending ten leagues from and along the banks of the *Mississippi*. The grass upon these prairies is like clover, upon which an infinite number of animals brouse. After passing these rapids, we found, on the right and left, mines of lead, which are called to this day, *Nicholas Perrot*, the name of the person who first discovered them.

Twenty leagues higher up, we found the entrance of a large river, called *Ouisconsin*,* opposite four islands, and quite an elevated mountain, about half a league in length. By this route you go to the *Bay of Foxes*, sixty leagues from the *Mississippi*. This bay is only four leagues from *Lake Michigan*, where the French cross to go to Canada upon their return from the *Sioux*. At the distance of ten leagues above the mouth of *Ouisconsin* commences a prairie, extending some sixty leagues along the borders of the *Mississippi*. It is called *Winged Prairie* (*Prairie aux Ailes*), and is terminated by high hills, that render the prospect very beautiful. Opposite *Winged Prairie*, to the left, is another facing it, called *Paquitanci*, neither so large or so long. Twenty leagues above this, we came to *Lake Good Relief* (*Bon Secours*), about seven leagues in circumference, and one across, through which the *Mississippi* passes. Its banks, right
 1700. and left are bordered by prairies. On the right bank is a fort,

*It was by this river that M. le Sueur, for the first time, entered the *Mississippi* river, in 1683, to visit the nations of the *Sioux*, among whom he resided for more than seven years. It was also by this river that Father Marquette and the *Sieur Joliet* entered the *Mississippi* from the *Bay of Puans* (*Green Bay*), to explore it to its mouth, in 1673.

built by Nicholes Perrot,* and yet known by his name. At the upper part of the lake is *Bald Island (l'Isle Pelée)*, so called because there is not a tree standing upon it. It is upon this island that the French from Canada established their fort and stores, when they came to trade for furs and other merchandize. They also winter here, because game is abundant in the prairies on both sides of the river.

Three leagues after leaving Bald Island, we reached the *River Sainte Croix (Holy Cross)*, on the 16th of September, where there is a large cross planted at its mouth, and several leagues from the *Falls of St. Anthony*, which extend two leagues. This rapid, the whole width of the *Mississippi*, has a perpendicular fall of sixty feet, making a noise resembling thunder, which is heard at a considerable distance. At this place, the boats must be carried by hand, in order to continue the route up the *Mississippi*, which, upon reflection, we concluded not to do, and returned about a quarter of a league below to the mouth
1700. of a river on the left hand side, which we named *St. Peter*. We continued our route up this river, and found another river falling into the *St. Peter* from the left, which we entered, and gave it the name of *Green River (Minnesota)*, because the earth, being blended with the copper ore falling into it, pro-

*Nicholas Perrot was, says Father Charlevoix, a man of talent, and belonged to a respectable family. At an early period of life he acquired several Indian languages, and, in 1665, was selected, by M. Talon, to accompany Sieur de St. Lussou to the *Falls of St. Mary* as interpreter, in persuading the numerous tribes around the upper lakes to submit to the French Crown. In 1684, he was employed by M. de la Barre in bringing the Western tribes to his assistance against the *Iroquois*; and, subsequently, he performed the like service for M. de Denonville. For several successive years he was employed as Indian agent. He afterwards built a fort on *Lake Pepin*, and discovered the celebrated lead mines on the river *Des Moines*, in Iowa, which at one time bore his name. He travelled over most of *New France*, and wrote an interesting account of it, still in manuscript, entitled, "*Mœurs, Coutumes, et Religion des Sauvages, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*," from which, as well as from the "*Annals of Louisiana*," by M. Penicaut, Father Charlevoix acknowledges that, "*F'ai trouve dans ces deux M.S.S. bien des éclaircissements, que j'avois en vain cherche dans les livres imprimés.*" Of M. Penicaut, he says, "*Il entendois presque toutes les langues des Sauvages de la Louisiane.*"—Charlevoix.

duced a green tinge—having now travelled from the Tamaroas* two hundred and seven leagues. A league higher up this river, M. Le Sueur determined to build a fort, as it was now the end of September, and ice forming rapidly; the weather had become rough and tempestuous. One half of our men were hunting, while the other half worked at the fort. We killed four hundred buffaloes, which served us as provisions during the winter. We placed them upon scaffolds in the fort, after having skinned and cut them up. We also constructed cabins within the enclosure of the fort, in order to render ourselves more comfortable. We were not unmindful to place our boats under shelter. At the commencement of the erection of the fort, seven French traders, from Canada, came there, who had been robbed of all their merchandise, and stripped of their clothing, by that wandering nation of savages, called the Sioux, who live by pillage and rapine. Among this number, there was one who was acquainted with M. le Sueur—a Canadian gentleman—whom he at once recognized, and clothed him as he did the rest. They remained with us at the fort during the winter, where we had nothing to eat but buffalo meat, without salt.

*An Indian village, on the banks of the *Mississippi*, where the Jesuits had a missionary establishment, and the French a settlement.

CHAPTER III.

1701. On the third of April, 1701, we set out, with twelve miners and four hunters, to work at the copper mine, situated about a league from the fort (l'Huillier), and took from it upwards of thirty thousand pounds of ore. We selected from this mass about four thousand pounds of the purest and most beautiful, which M. le Sueur, who was skilled in the knowledge of minerals, had carried into the fort, and transported to France, of which I have never heard the final result.*

After working twenty-two days at the mines, we returned to the fort, where the *Sioux*, who had pillaged the Canadians, came to trade with their peltries for our merchandize. They had more than four hundred beaver-robcs, which M. le Sueur purchased, as well as many other skins they brought with them.

The cold, in this country, is more rigorous than in Canada. During the winter we passed in our fort, we often heard the
1701. trees snapping and cracking from the effects of the severe frost, similar to the report of fire-arms. The water in the river was frozen to the bottom, and the snow covered the earth to the depth of five feet on a level. The snow and ice generally melts in the spring, about the month of April, which causes the *Mississippi* to overflow its banks. In the beginning of May, we drew out boats into the water, loaded them with the ore taken from the mine, and the peltries we had procured.

Before taking our departure, M. le Sueur held a council with M. d'Éraque, the Canadian gentleman of whom I have already spoken, and the three *Sioux* chiefs, who were brothers. He told them he was obliged to go down to the sea, and begged them to maintain peace with M. d'Éraque, whom he would have or governor of *Fort l'Huillier*, with a dozen of Frenchmen. He made considerable presents to those three brothers, and persuaded them never to abandon the French. After this, we embarked, with twelve men, whom M. le Sueur had selected to

*The mineral region of the north-west was very faithfully explored, at an early period, by eminent French engineers sent from Canada, who made their reports to the French Government.

accompany him. At parting, he promised those who were left behind to guard the fort, that, so soon as he arrived among the *Illinois*, he would send back provisions and munitions of war; which he did, for he sent back a canoe loaded with two thousand pounds of powder and lead, with three of our men to conduct it. We remained some days among the *Illinois*, to take in provisions necessary for our voyage. In our descent, we stopped at all the villages mentioned heretofore, and landed at the fort, where M. M. de St. Denis and de Bienville commanded, who informed us that M. d'Iberville had arrived within a short time since.

1701. These gentlemen gave us an account of a voyage they had made up the *Red River* (*Sabloniere*), with a detachment of twenty-five men, in search of the Spaniards on the confines of Mexico. Whilst we were at the mines, they had ascended this river, seventy leagues from its entrance into the *Mississippi*, and there met with the nation of the *Natchitoches*, who chanted to them the *calumet* of peace, and, during the three days they remained there, they demanded of the chiefs if they knew where the Spanish settlements could be found. One of them, called the White Chief, with ten of his Indians, conducted them to the village of the *Cadodaquioux*,* about one hundred leagues above the *Natchitoches*. When they arrived there, they asked of the *Cadodaquioux*, in what direction they could reach the Spanish settlements; but these Indians replied, that, for some time past, none of them had dwelt in their village, and none had visited it for more than two years past. This information determined M. M. de St. Denis and de Bienville to

*In the early settlement of Louisiana, the *Caddos*—pronounced by the tribe, *Ca-do-ha-da-cho*, and, by the French, *Cadodaquioux*—were united to several brave and warlike tribes, among whom were the *Natchitoches* and *Assonis*, who lived on the south bank of *Red River*, in a pleasant and fertile country, several hundred miles above the present town of *Natchitoches*. They had a tradition that the world was destroyed by a flood, but the *Great Spirit* placed them on an eminence near a lake, and they alone were saved, and from them descended all the Indians in the South. The whole number of this (*Caddo*) nation is now reduced to less than a hundred families, who still exercise a great influence over the surrounding tribes—the *Yattasecs*, *Nabadachies*, *Innies*, *Keychies*, *Adaics*, *Nacogdoches*, and *Nandakoes*, all of whom speak the *Caddo* language, and look up to them as their fathers. Specimens of the *Caddo* and *Witchita* languages are to be found in Marcy's "Exploration of Red River," Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Languages," and in Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

return to their fort. The three persons whom M. le Sueur had left in charge of the canoe with munitions of war for M. d'Eraque, at *Fort l'Huillier*, arrived where we were. They astonished M. le Sueur greatly, by the information that the canoe having broken, was totally lost, with everything on board, just opposite the mine of Nicholas Perrot. M. M. St. Denis and de Bienville gave orders to load another canoe with munitions of war and provisions, and charged them to hasten back to the fort with all due diligence. As for us, after having discharged our boat and canoes of the peltries for which we had trafficked with the *Sioux*, we descended with M. le Sueur in a long-boat, and, in a few days, arrived at the *Fort of Biloxi*, where we found M. d'Iberville, who returned within a few days, and was yet busily engaged in discharging his ships.

M. d'Iberville having loaded two long-boats with provisions, and taken thirty men and a pilot with him, we went to make the soundings around *Massacre Island (Dauphine)*, upon the report made to him by M. de Sauvol, that a good anchorage for ships had been found there, near to which is another small island, and protection sufficient for thirty ships. The pass and all its environs were found to be good. From *Massacre Island*, we sailed to a bay about five leagues wide, and not more than two leagues distant; we entered it, and, at nine leagues distance, found a river, which discharges its waters to the left. Having ascended this river one league, we found another confluent. To the first, we gave the name of *St. Martin*. to the second, *Boutin*. Twelve leagues higher up, we came to a settlement of Indians, called *Mobilians*. They were in no way astonished at seeing us, because they were already acquainted with our establishment

1701. at Biloxi. They desired to sing the *calumet* of peace to M. d'Iberville, but he told them he had not time at present to remain. He made them some presents, and, on the morrow, descended the *Mobile River*. He took with him one of their chiefs, to point out to him an elevated piece of ground six leagues below their village, on the right bank of the river, where he desired to construct a fort, to be occupied by the French. We then descended the river to the bay, to return to our fort. Two leagues from *Mobile River*, we came to *Dog River*, one league lower down, to *Deer River*, and, two leagues from the latter, we came to *Chicken River*. We then took a direct course for *Biloxi*,

where sickness had begun to be frequent, by reason of the heat of the summer, which caused M. d'Iberville to hasten the construction of the fort at *Mobile*. After this, he set out again for France, accompanied by M. le Sueur, the geologist. The ore we brought with us from the mines was placed on board the ships, for the purpose of being assayed in France, but we never afterwards heard what became of it.

After the departure of M. d'Iberville, M. de Boisbriant took with him sixty men, and went to *Mobile* to build the fort, in the place marked out by M. d'Iberville before he sailed. It was, at this time, that M. de Sauvol, the commander of the fort at *Biloxi*, fell sick, and died on the 22d of August, 1701. M. de Bienville who was at the fort on the *Mississippi* with M. St. Denis, on hearing of his death, immediately descended the river to the sea, and took command of the fort. Having observed that the cause of the sickness was, in a great measure, owing to the want of water, he hastened to have all the munitions of war and merchandize transported to the fort of *Mobile*, where M. de Boisbriant had already made the necessary constructions for their reception and security. M. de Bienville now went to *Mobile* to perfect the works at the fort, and the residences for the Inhabitants. This fort was three hundred and sixty feet square, with a battery of six pieces of cannon at each of the four corners, each advancing in the centre, in a semi-circle. Within were four buildings, situated about fifteen feet within the curtains, and afterwards appropriated for a chapel, governor's house, and officers' quarters. The barracks for the soldiers were built outside of the fort, one hundred and fifty paces from the fort, on the banks of *Mobile River*.

CHAPTER IV.

1702. On the 18th of March, 1702, M. D'Iberville arrived in Louisiana, and anchored in the roadstead, at *Massacre Island*. He visited, soon after, *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, which he found in excellent condition. From this place he sent laborers to *Massacre Island*, for the purpose of constructing the magazines destined to receive the merchandize which he had brought with him in the two ships from France, and also barracks for the soldiers, who were to guard the merchandize. He returned a few days after, and changed the name of *Massacre*, to *Dauphine Island*,* and the island of *Surgeres* to *Ship Island*, because we found there the best shelter for our ships on our arrival in this country. A fort was afterwards built on this island, with barracks for troops. He returned again to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he fitted out several detachments, to send up the river in search of the native chiefs of the surrounding country. We took some of the *Mobilians* as guides, who conducted a portion of our men among the *Alibamons*, a nation dwelling on the borders of Carolina, and the rest of the *Choctaws* and *Chicasaws*, whose habitations are upon the confines of the *Illinois*. On the 25th, the chiefs of those nations, together with those of other tribes dwelling in the vicinity of the *Mobilians*, the *Thomez*, and the *Forks* (*Gens des Fourches*), all came together to our fort, to make a treaty of peace, and chanted the *calumet* of peace to M. de Bienville, who distributed presents among them, before sending them away. At the same time, he gave them an invitation, through an interpreter, to visit the fort freely, and trade with the French for provisions and merchandize, to which they replied, it would give them pleasure to do so.

In the meantime, M. d'Iberville had sent a gun-boat laden with provisions and munitions of war, to M. de St. Denis, commanding the fort on the *Mississippi* river. M. d'Eraque arrived there from Fort l'Huillier, with twelve Frenchmen, and, a few days after, upon the return of the gun-boat, he came to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he found M. d'Iberville, whom he saluted, and reported that M. le Sueur, at his departure, left

*In compliment to the eldest son of the King of France.

him at the fort, and had promised to send him provisions and ammunition; but, having waited a long time without receiving any news from him, he had been attacked by the nations of the *Mascoutins* and *Foxes*,* who had killed three of his men, who
 1702. were at work in the woods, a short distance from the fort. These Indians afterwards retired, and, having no powder or shot to defend himself, he thought it most prudent to embark the merchandize remaining on hand, abandon the fort, and descend the river with his men. That he had met with M. Juchereau de St. Denis, of *Montreal*, Canada, with thirty-five men, whom he was conducting to the river *Wabash*, for the purpose of establishing a tannery, who descended with him, as far as the *Illinois*, where he met with the canoe sent by M. de Bienville, and that it was in this canoe he had arrived at the establishment of M. de St. Denis, on the morning of the arrival of the gun-boat; and, having heard of the arrival of M. d'Iberville, he profited by the occurrence to return in the gun-boat, to offer him his salutations and services. M. d'Iberville gave him a cordial reception, and engaged him to remain at *Mobile*. After this, he went over to visit *Dauphine Island*, and examine the works and stores erected there for the purpose of receiving his merchandize. He also visited the soldiers' barracks.

At the same period the Spaniards built a fort, which they named *Pensacola de Galvez*, twelve leagues from *Dauphine Island*, and, upon the main-land, thirty leagues east of *Mobile*. As we were at peace with them, and they were upon their own

*The *Mascoutins*, called, by the *Hurons*, *Assistagueronons*, means the *Fire Nation*. In the earliest accounts of the Jesuits, they are described as the dominant tribe around *Lake Michigan*, and were constantly at war with the *Ottawas*, and other Western tribes. In 1712, a band of them moved eastward, and settled on the *Wabash*, and another on *St. Joseph's River*, and, still later, on *Rock River*. Most every writer, from Champlin to Schoolcraft, has described them as a brave and powerful nation. The *Foxes* (*Outagamis*), who call themselves *Musquokies*, and the French, *Les Renards*, are also described as a brave people, who were constantly at war with other Indian nations. Their history, manners, and customs, have been written by the Jesuit Fathers. A mission was established among them by Father Allouez, but without success, as they were opposed to Christian doctrine. The *Foxes* spoke the same language as the *Kickapoes*. See Gallatin's Synopsis, in Vol. II of "Archaeologia Americana," Keating's "Expedition to St. Peter's River," v. 1, pp. 450-9, and "Reise des Prinzen Maximilian de Wiede," v. 2, p. 522, et seq.

1702. ground, we did not deem it proper to oppose them; but we will see, in the sequel, that this fort was the germ of a contention between us, that lasted two years. Having given all necessary orders, and bade adieu to his officers, M. d'Iberville again took his departure for France in the month of June.

A few days after he had left, M. de Tonty, governor among the *Illinois*, came to *Mobile* with the Canadian merchants, thinking to find M. d'Iberville there. He saluted M. de Bienville, our governor, with whom he remained a long time.

About this time, five of our Frenchmen desired permission from M. de Bienville to go and trade among the *Alibamons*, in order to procure poultry and other provisions, of which we stood in need. They took occasion to set out with ten of that nation who had been trading at the fort, and wished to return home. On the journey, they stopped at a village about five leagues from our fort, where were assembled three different nations, who were engaged in celebrating their feasts; these were the *Mobilians*, the *Thomex*, and the *Nanibas*. They have no temple, but they have a cabin in which they perform their incantations and juggleries, which they designate, in their language, an invocation to their *Great Spirit*.

In the beginning of September, they celebrate a feast, which has a considerable resemblance to that of the ancient Lacedemonians. Upon that day, they whip their children until their backs are covered with blood. The whole village then assemble in their public square. All the children, male and female, are compelled to be present, even those of the most tender age; and, 1702. if the child is sick and unable to be present, the mother is whipped in its stead. When this ceremony is concluded, they dance all night. The chiefs and old men then deliver an exhortation to those whipped, telling them, that this is done to teach them how to support and sustain the misfortunes which may happen to them, should they fall into the hands of their enemies, and to learn them to become good warriors, and to utter no cry, nor even shed a tear when in the midst of the fire into which they may be cast.

Our five Frenchmen, after having witnessed this feast, pursued their route with the ten *Alibamons* until they had ap-

proached within ten leagues of their village. The Indians requested the French to remain there until they had notified their chief, and that they would return on the morrow. But, whilst they remained there, the savages came stealthily during the night, seized their arms, and killed four of them. The fifth escaped, threw himself into the river, and, while swimming, he was wounded in the shoulder by the blow of a hatchet. After some days he reached the fort, having bound up his wound with the gum exuding from the pine trees. It was this circumstance that gave rise to the war between us and the *Alibamons*, which continued seven years.

1702. M. de Bienville immediately notified the neighboring nations, the *Mobilians*, the *Thomez*, the tribes of the *Forks*, the *Choctaws*, and others, of this treacherous affair, who came to join us to the number of eighteen hundred warriors. On our side, we had seventy Frenchmen fit to bear arms. Our officers were M. M. deBienville, St. Denis, and De Tonty, an ancient captain from Canada. The *Mobilians* served us as guides. It was in the beginning of September that we all set out together on the march against the *Alibamons*, but the greater portion of the Indians deserted us at the end of four or five days. They were the friends and allies of the *Alibamons*,* against whom they were leading us to war.

M. de Bienville, on seeing the desertion of the Indians, returned to our fort, and ordered the construction of ten canoes, which, as soon as completed, we received orders to embark in them, both officers and men, placing himself at the head of the expedition. We took our departure, secretly, at night, in order to conceal our numbers from the Indians. At the end of a few days' journey, we arrived ten leagues from the village of the *Alibamons*, near the spot where our four Frenchmen had been killed. We saw their fires upon the river, and, at about double musket-shot distance from this fire were fourteen canoes, manned by the *Alibamons*, who were out hunting with their families. Towards evening, we ascended the river, and landed

*Mithridates, Vol. III, pp. 292-305; Balbi's "Atlas Ethnographique," Tab. 41, No. 789. The *Mobilians* occupied the territory near the mouth of *Mobilc River*, and north of the *Apalachians*. DeSoto found them a formidable enemy.

- on the opposite side. When their fires were extinguished, and they were asleep, M. de Bienville made us advance into the woods by a very bad road, keeping up a steady fire. But we could not see where to direct our aim. I do not know that we killed any of them. We remained masters of their cabins until day-break, when we set fire to them, after taking whatever merchandize we found there, which, toegther with their canoes, we brought to our fort at Mobile, where, upon our return, we
1702. found a chief of the *Chickasaws*, who was waiting for M. de Bienville, to obtain from him a French lad, whom he desired to take with him to his village, to instruct in the language of his nation. M. de Bienville gave him little St. Michel, aged fourteen years, a son of M. St. Michel, captain of the port of *Rochefort*. He took his boy with him to the nation, together with the presents made to him.

A short time after the return of M. St. Denis to the fort established on the *Mississippi*, he sent word to M. de Bienville that Bayagoulas had been defeated in battle by the *Tensas*, who had burned their villages, and that such of the *Bayagoulas* as had escaped disaster, had taken refuge near his fort, where he had given them a place for the purpose of erecting their cabins.

CHAPTER V.

1703. In January, 1703, M. Juchereau de St. Denis* transmitted a letter to his cousin, M. de Bienville, in which he informed him that M. de St. Come, a missionary priest, on his way from Canada, with three Frenchmen, had stopped at *Natchez* to visit that establishment, and, in descending the river, they landed for the night; and, whilst encamped, were attacked by a party of eighty *Chetimachas* Indians, who had come to the *Bayagoulas* village to make war upon them, but, becoming enraged at not finding them, they fell upon M. de St. Come and his three companions whilst they were asleep, and assassinated them, and, that a small slave, who was with them, had escaped, and given
1703. him information of the event. M. de St. Denis added, that the death of those Frenchmen must be avenged.

In reply, M. d'Beinville ordered him to come immediately to *Mobile*, and hold a council of war upon the subject. It was also resolved to notify the neighboring nations, the Oumas, Chaouachas,** and *Bayagoulas*, who were living around the French settlement on the *Mississippi*, to meet M. de St. Denis. A few days after, he assembled two hundred Indian warriors, to whom he added ten Frenchmen, and twenty canoes, with provisions and ammunition. This party went up the *Mississippi* to the entrance of the *Chetimachas River (Bayou Lafourche)*, and during the night, arrived within three leagues of their village.

*M. Juchereau de St. Denis, a native of Canada, was the uncle of Madame D'Iberville, and came to Louisiana in the frigate *Renommee* commanded by M. d'Iberville in the beginning of the year 1700. He passed several years in making expeditions up and down the *Mississippi* and very quickly acquired a general knowledge of several Indian languages, so as to be acknowledged their grand chief; and, being a gentleman of education, courage, and prudence, he was employed in several expeditions to Mexico, and in making with that government a treaty of commerce. He afterwards returned to Louisiana, and was employed by M. de Bienville in conducting several expeditions against the Indians. He returned to Mobile in 1719, and conducted an expedition against *Pensacola*, for which he was knighted. On the retirement of M. de Bienville to France, in 1726, de St. Denis returned to *Montreal* (Canada), where he died.

**The *Chaouachas (Tchaouachas)* and *Ouachas* lived on the west side of the Mississippi, below the *English Turn*; and the *Baya-Ogoulas* above the fork, on the west side, twenty-five leagues above New Orleans.

The *Chaouachas*, who acted as guides, and were well acquainted with the country, made us keep concealed in this place during the day; and, when night approached, he sent two Indians and a Frenchman to reconnoitre their village. They returned to camp about midnight, and reported they had discovered it upon the borders of a lake, filled with *Chetimachas*, who had collected there, for the purpose of fishing. We took up our march in silence, and, arriving near their cabins, laid down flat on our faces until day-break. At daylight, we gave the war-whoop (*le cri de mort*), which greatly astonished them, who, in endeavoring to find out the cause of their alarm, was fired upon by us, and fifteen of their number killed. We also captured about forty prisoners, men, women and children. Among the prisoners was one we recognized as one of the murderers of M. de St. Come and his companions, whom we ironed, and brought to *Mobile*. M. d'Beenville ordered him to be placed upon a wooden horse, and his brains beaten out with clubs. His scalp was cut off, and his body thrown into the river. He afterwards sent notice to all the nations who were in alliance with us, to make war upon the *Chetimachas*. Twenty chiefs of the *Chickasaw* (*Tchikasas*) nation came to the fort to confer with M. de Bienville upon making peace with the *Choctaws* (*Tchactas*), with whom they had been for a long time at war. They were obliged to make a wide circuit to the fort, so as to avoid meeting the *Choctaws*. M. de Bienville consented to mediate for them, and sent M. de Boisbriant, with twenty-five men as a guard, to the *Choctaw* nation, who, after a few days consideration, agreed to make peace, and, at the same time, promised to become the friends of the French. Escorted by the *Choctaws*, M. de Boisbriant returned to *Mobile*, satisfied that he had secured the friendship of one of the most powerful Indian nations of the South.* About the same time, M. de Bienville sent messengers

*The *Chickasaws* and *Choctaws*, according to tradition, were driven out of Mexico, and finally settled in the wilderness east of the *Mississippi* river. The *Chickasaws* claimed all of the territory within the present States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and were among the most cruel and haughty among the Southern Indians. They exercised an unwonted influence over the *Choctaws*, *Natchez*, and other tribes. They numbered about forty villages, and were the constant terror of the French *voyagers* upon the *Tennessee* and *Mississippi* Rivers. They defeated Hernando de Soto, D'Artaguette, and de Bienville, in several pitched battles.

The *Choctaws*, at the time the French visited Louisiana, were still a powerful

1703. to the river *Madeline* (*Bayou Teche*), to find out what nations inhabited that part of Louisiana. They returned, and reported they had found seven different nations, among whom was one called the *Attakapas*, or man eaters. On the 22d of February, M. de Becquancourt arrived from *Vera Cruz* with provisions, and reported that M. d'Albuquerque, Viceroy of Mexico, had received orders from the King of Spain to permit the French to enter his ports to purchase provisions. On the 15th of August, the Chevalier de Perrot arrived at *Mobile*, with provisions for the garrison, and seventeen passengers, among whom was M. de Chateauguay, the brother of M. de Bienville. On the 22d of December, M. de Bienville set out from *Fort Louis de la Mobile* with several hundred men and Indians, to punish the *Alibamons*, who had murdered three Frenchmen.

1703. At the expiration of ten days, we set out on our journey to the *Oumas* (*Houmas*), thirty leagues from *Baton Rouge*, where we met with a welcome reception and, from the *Oumas* we paid a visit to the Natchez, one of the most polite and affable nations on the *Mississippi*. We reached there in three days from the *Oumas*, and were received with every possible manifestation of friendship and pleasure. Both the young and old made it an occasion for feasting and dancing.

nation, numbering, probably, fifteen or twenty thousand warriors. They successively exterminated the *Chochumas*, *Yasous*, *Tunicas*, and several smaller tribes. They had some idea of a supreme being, but the French missionaries never succeeded in converting them to Christianity. These once powerful and warlike nations have now almost disappeared from Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, having sold out their extensive territories, and emigrated to the Indian territory west of the *Arkansas*, where they are rapidly advancing in the arts of civilization. The *Choctaws*, west of *Arkansas*, now number (1868) about sixteen thousand, and the *Chickasaws*, about six thousand, men. They have a republican constitution, a legislature, a judicial system, school-houses and churches, and have already produced great orators. There is a close affinity between the *Chickasaws* and *Choctaws* in their physical appearance, their language, traditions, and laws.

The Rev. Cyrus Byington, wrote some years ago, a grammar of the *Choctaw* language; B. Smith Barton, a comparative vocabulary of the *Chickasaw*, *Conchac*, and *Mobilian* languages; A. Gallatin, a synopsis of fifty-three Indian languages, published in the second volume of "Archaeologia Americana;" A. Wright, a *Choctaw* vocabulary; and B. Hawkins, a vocabulary of the *Chickasaw*, *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Choctaw* languages, now in manuscript, and deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*.

The *Natchez* inhabit one of the most beautiful countries in Louisiana. It lies about a league back from the banks of the *Mississippi*, and is embellished with magnificent natural scenery, traversed with hills, covered with a splendid growth of odoriferous trees and plants, and watered with cool and limpid streams. After irrigating the plains, they unite in two branches, which encircle the villages,* and, finally, form a small river (*St. Catherine*), which flows over a gravelly bottom; and, after meandering two leagues through a beautiful and undulating country, falls into the *Mississippi*. One of the French missionaries, Father Francois Joliet de Montigny**, visited the *Natchez*, to teach them the Catholic religion; but, being unable to make any converts, he afterwards returned to *Quebec*.

All the pleasures of refined society are observed by the great nobles. They have none of the rude manners of the surrounding nations, and possess all the comforts of life. This nation is composed of thirty villages, but the one we visited was the largest, because it contained the dwelling of the *Great Chief*,
 1703. whom they called the *Sun*, which means noble. The men and women are well made, and appropriately clothed. The women—among whom are many very beautiful—dress in white linen robes, which extend from their shoulders to their ankles, similar in make to the *Adrienne*, worn by French ladies. They manufacture it from a species of plant*** and from the inner bark of the young mulberry tree, after the following manner: They place the bark in water, and let it soak during the space of eight

**Terre Blanche*, or the great white apple village, was situated about one league from the banks of the *Mississippi*, on what is called *Second Creek*, and where the *Great Chief*, beneath bowers rivalling those of *Arcadia*, held his councils with the surrounding nations, and built a fort, defended by parapets and ditches.

** (Inserted in the book in pencil) He returned to France with Iberville in 1700, 3rd May.

***Probably the *acnida cannibina* (wild hemp) or the *linum virginianum* (wild flax), which grow luxuriantly in *Mississippi*, from which they spun their thread. They wove sashes, belts, garters, and shot-pouches, decorated with beautiful stripes and checker-work. Some of their manufactures were made in large pieces, on which they would ingeniously paint, or interweave, figures of birds, animals, and plants, and ornament the borders with the feathers of the paroquets and flamingoes, showing their descent from the Mexican (*Aztec*) race.

days, after which they dry it well in the sun, and then beat it until it is reduced to flax; they afterwards wash it three or four times in lye-water, until it becomes perfectly white. Finally, it is spun and wove ingeniously into cloth, and manufactured into clothing.

1704. The men clothe themselves in deer-skins, from which they make a kind of shirt, or jacket, descending to their knees, and from thence to their ankles; they wear leggins. Their language is softer and better modulated than their neighbors. The dress of the girls is different from that of the women, for they are only clad with a species of skirt, fastened around the waist, after the manner of our French women, who only wear petticoats. The skirts worn by the girls are sewed with fine, white thread, and only cover their nakedness from their waist down to their knees. They are fastened with two strings, with tassels at the end of each. The front is ornamented with fringe. This garment is worn by the girls until the period of nubility, when they assumed the woman's garment. They are very courteous and obliging, and fond of the French. It was really charming to us to behold them dancing at their feasts, arrayed in their beautiful and highly ornamented skirts, and the women in their neat, white robes. Their heads are enveloped in long, black hair, which fall gracefully around to their waist, and, in many instances, down to their ankles.

Their dances are very graceful. The men dance with the women, and the girls with the boys. The quadrilles are always composed of twenty or thirty persons, with an equal number of boys and girls. It is not permitted to a married man to dance with a girl, nor a boy with a married woman. After having lighted two large torches, cut from some old pine tree, one is placed near the cabin of the chief, and the other on the opposite side of the great square, when, towards sun-down, the master of ceremonies enters, followed by thirty couples, in regular order, who commence the dance at the tap of the drum, and the sound of the voices of the spectators. Each dances, in turn, until midnight, when the married men and women retire, and give place to the young people, who keep up the dance until morning. This dance has a considerable resemblance to our French cotillion, with this difference, that, when a youth has danced

with the girl at his side, he is permitted to conduct her without the village, into one of the groves on the prairie, where he whispers sweet tales of love, till each grow wearied, they then
1704. return to the village, and continue dancing until daylight.

When an agreement is entered into between two young people, they go together into the woods, and, while the young man is hunting, the young woman constructs a cabin from the boughs and limbs of trees and foliage, and kindles a fire close by. If the young man has killed, in the chase, a buffalo, or deer, he brings one quarter to the cabin, and afterward they live together for the remainder of life. They roast a piece, which they eat for supper, and, upon the morrow, carry the rest to the house of the girl's father and mother in the village, notifying them of their intention; and, at the same time, dividing with them their game. After they dine together, the husband takes his wife to his own cabin, and, from that time, she is prohibited from mingling in the dance with the boys or girls, or having intercourse with any other than her husband. She is obliged to work within doors, and her husband may repudiate her if he thinks her unfaithful, unless she has presented him with a child.

The *Great Chief* orders the feasts, which usually continue eight or ten days. They generally take place when the chief is in want of any provisions, or merchandize, such as flour, bacon, beans, and other things, which are brought and placed at the door of his cabin, upon the last day of the feast. He has jurisdiction over all the villages, and sends his orders to them by two messengers, whom he calls *Ouchil-tichou*. The house of the *Great Chief* is of great extent, and can hold as many as four thousand persons, over whom his power is as absolute as a king. The people are not allowed to approach him too closely,
1704. and must not address him nearer than four paces. His bed is on the right side of his cabin, composed of mats of very fine canes, across which is placed a bolster of feathers. The skins of deer are used for covering it in summer, and those of the bear and buffalo in winter. His wife is the only person who has the right to eat and sleep with him.

When he arises from his bed, his relatives approach, and, with uplifted arms, utter frightful cries; but he does not even deign to notice them. The *Great Chief* of a noble family can

only marry with a woman of plebeian race; but the children born of this union, whether boys or girls, are noble.

It happened, during our visit, that the *Great Female Sun* died, and we were witnesses of her funeral obsequies, which were of the most tragical character that can be imagined. She was the *Great Sun* in her own right, and, being dead, her husband, who was not of the noble family, was strangled by her eldest son, so that he might bear her company to the great village whither she had gone. On the outside of the cabin, where she died, they placed all her effects, on a sort of bier, or triumphal car, upon which was placed her body, as well as that of her husband. Afterwards, they brought and placed twelve small children on it, whom they had strangled. These children were brought by their fathers and mothers, by the order of the eldest son of the *Great Female Sun*, who had the right, as her successor, and, as *Great Chief*, to put to death as many persons as he pleased, to honor the funeral of his mother. Fourteen other scaffolds were afterwards erected, and decorated with branches of trees, and paintings upon pieces of linen. On each scaffold they placed one of those they had strangled, to accompany the deceased to the other world, and these were surrounded by their relatives, dressed in fine, white robes. They then formed a procession, and marched to the great square in front of the *Great Temple*, and commenced to dance. At the end of four days, they began the ceremony of the march of death. The fathers and mothers of the strangled children holding them up in their arms. The eldest of these unfortunate children did not appear to be over three years of age. The fourteen other victims destined to be strangled were also marched in front of the *Great Temple*.

1704.

The chiefs and relatives of those who were strangled, with their hair cut off, began their frightful howlings, while those who were destined to die, kept on dancing and marching around the cabin of the deceased, two by two, until it was set on fire. The fathers, who carried their strangled children in their arms, marched four paces apart from each other, and, at the distance of about ten paces, threw them upon the ground before the *Great Temple*, and commenced dancing around them. When they deposited the body of the *Great Female Sun* in the temple, the fourteen victims, who stood before the door of the temple,

were undressed, and, while seated on the ground, a cord, with a noose, was passed around the necks of each, and a deerskin thrown over their heads. The relatives of the deceased then stood to the right and left of each victim, taking hold of the ends of the cord around their necks, and, at a given signal, they pulled it until their victim was dead.* The bones of the victims
 1704. who had been strangled were afterwards deprived of their flesh, and, when dried, were put into baskets, and placed in the temple, considering it an honor and special privilege to have been sacrificed, and placed there with the *Great Female Sun*. This barbarous custom of sacrificing their children to the *Suns* was kept up, in spite of the efforts of the French missionaries to put a stop to it, except that they afterwards obtained their consent to have been baptized before they were strangled.

The female posterity of the *Suns* always enjoy the privileges of their rank. The male and female of the *Suns* (nobility) never inter-marry. Their nobility is different from that in Europe; for, with us, in France, the more ancient it is, the more respect it commands; but here it ceases at the seventh generation. They make it hereditary only in the female line. Their form of government is despotic. The whole nation is divided into nobles and common people, called *stinkards* (*miche-miche quipy*). They each have a language peculiar to themselves—that of the nobles being much purer and more copious.** The *Great Sun* is absolute master of the lives and property of the whole nation. The houses of the *Suns* are built upon mounds, and are distinguished from each other by their size. The mound upon which the house of the *Great Chief*, or *Sun*, is built, is larger than the rest, and the sides of it are steeper.***

*This custom of putting persons to death at the funeral of the *Great Sun*, or *Chief*, is described by the historian of DeSoto's expedition in Florida.

**There is no vocabulary of this remarkable people in existence, and not more than a dozen words have been noted by European visitors in their accounts of them.

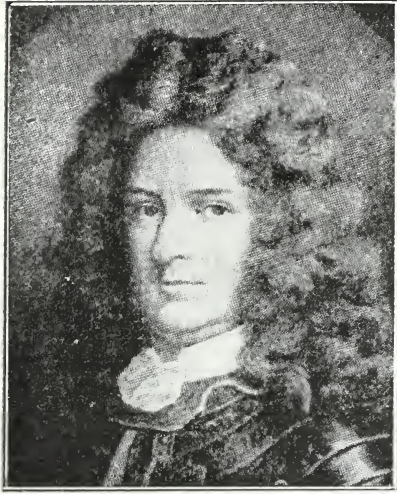
***The Portuguese Gentleman of Elvas, who wrote the history of the expedition of De Soto in Florida, describes the houses of the Chiefs, likewise built upon mounds of different heights, according to their rank, with porticoes to their doors, and their villages fortified with palisades, or walls of earth, with gateways to go in and out. See First Series of the "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II, pp. 113-220.

1704. The temple in the village of the *Great Sun* is about thirty feet high, and forty-eight in circumference, with the walls eight feet thick, and covered with a matting of canes, in which they keep up a perpetual fire. The wood used is of oak, or hickory, stripped of its bark, and eight feet in length. Guards are appointed, alternately, to watch the temple, and keep up the sacred fire; and, if, by accident, the fire should go out, they break the heads of the guards with the wooden clubs they keep in the temple. At each new moon, an offering of bread and flour is made, which is for the use of those who guard it. Every morning and evening, the *Great Sun* and his wife enter it, to worship their idols of wood and stone.

- The time allowed us by M. de Bienville to return to the fort having now expired, we thanked the *Natchez* for their kind treatment, and bade them farewell. They filled our canoes with an abundance of provisions for our voyage down the river, and begged us to return again as soon as we could. The first day after our departure from their beautiful country, we encamped at *Baton Rouge*. We stopped, occasionally, to pay visits to the nations, and reached the fort in the beginning of May, where we found the ship *Pelican*, of fifty guns, commanded by M. Ducoudray de Guimont, with provisions for the colony, which had arrived some days before from France. He also brought M. de la Vente, a missionary, four priests, two grey nuns, and twenty-three girls, the first that had come to Louisiana. They were very modest and virtuous and soon found husbands. They were under the care of a priest, named Father Huet, who remained in Louisiana to instruct the Indians in the Catholic faith. A great deal of sickness prevailed during the summer
1704. in the colony, and M. Ducoudray having lost a number of his men, was compelled to select thirty men from the colonists to navigate his ship back to France, with dispatches for the French Government.

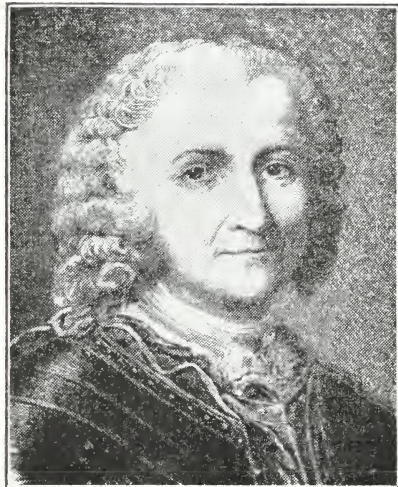
On the 27th of October, 1704, a sailing boat arrived from *Pensacola*, with news from the Spaniards, that a great fire had destroyed part of the town, with the request that M. de Bienville would send a vessel to *Vera Cruz*, to inform the Viceroy of it. On the 11th of December, a French brig arrived at *Mobile*, with dispatches from *Havana*, informing M. de Bienville that an English armament was fitting out in *Carolina* to attack *Mobile*.

and the settlement on the *Mississippi*. About the same time, a deputation arrived from the *Tonica* (*Tunica*) nation, to solicit M. de Bienville to intercede with Father Davion, the missionary, to return to their village, which he had left on account of the death of Father Foucault, who was massacred by the *Caroas*; a savage and cruel tribe, that lived near the *Yasous*. A few days after M. de Bienville wrote to M. de St. Denis to abandon the fort on the *Mississippi*, and send all the munitions of war and merchandize to the fort at *Mobile*.



PIERRE LeMOYNE, SIEUR de IBERVILLE, a French Canadian explorer, the first Governor of the Province of Louisiana, was born July 16, 1661 and died in 1706. He joined the French Navy at the age of fourteen and was regarded as the most skillful officer in that navy; was entrusted with the project of establishing trade between France and Mississippi; reached Mobile Bay January 31, 1699, anchoring near Dauphin Island; established a colony at Fort Biloxi and later entered the Mississippi River. He made frequent trips to France, bringing additional soldiers, workmen and supplies and died at sea from yellow fever which he had contracted at Havana, Cuba, but was survived by a wife and children in Paris.

JEAN BAPTISTE LeMOYNE, SIEUR de BIENVILLE, explorer and colonist, was born February 23, 1660, at the family home in Montreal, Canada, and died March 7, 1768, in France. He was the younger brother of Iberville and came with him to Mobile as a mid-shipman in his command, having served previously both in the Army and Navy. After the death of Iberville he succeeded him as Governor of the Province, a position interrupted from time to time through intrigues on the part of rivals for authority, necessitating several visits to France to defend himself against charges preferred by them and always returning with higher honors. He was given the Cross of St. Louis by the king in recognition of his faithful work for king and country and in 1743, after forty-four years of devoted service in the Province which he had assisted in establishing, he returned to Paris, where he died at the age of eighty-eight. Efforts have been made by the Alabama State Department of Archives and History to locate his grave in Montmartre Cemetery, Paris, where he was buried, but without success. He was responsible for the establishment of Mobile, Ala., Biloxi and Natchez, Miss., and New Orleans, La.



CHAPTER VI.

1705. On the 21st of January, 1705, M. de Chateague set sail, with dispatches to *Vera Cruz*, for the Viceroy of Mexico; and, on the 1st of February, a messenger arrived at the fort to inform M. de Bienville that the *Chickasaws* had sold to the English, in slavery,* several *Choctaw* families, who had come to visit them; and that this treachery had caused a rupture between the two nations.

On the 19th of October, a ship arrived from *Havana*, and reported that M. d'Iberville had sailed from France, to make an attack on Jamaica, and subsequently sailed from one of the West India Islands, to make an attack on *Charleston*, in Carolina, and had died at sea of yellow fever. This melancholy news fell like a dark cloud over the colony, and destroyed, for awhile, all their hopes of receiving any further assistance from France, until a treaty of peace should be negotiated in Europe.

1706. On the 7th of January, 1706, Don Senor Guzman, Governor of *Pensacola*, came to pay a visit to M. de Bienville at the fort, where he remained four days, during which time he was feasted by the French; and, on his return to *Pensacola*, he ordered his aid-de-camp to distribute among the soldiers of the garrison a thousand dollars in presents, and requested M. de Bienville, as a favor, to set at liberty all the prisoners. About the same time, M. Bergier, Grand Vicar of *Quebec*, arrived, and reported that M. St. Come, missionary, had been killed by the *Chetimachas*. In the beginning of March, the *Pascagoulas* declared war against the *Ouachas*, and, shortly after, all the Indian tribes assembled at the fort to make war upon the *Chetimachas* for their cruelty and treachery.

1707. In February, 1707, M. de Noyant, uncle of M. de Bienville, and commander of the frigate *Eagle*, arrived at *Mobile*, with dispatches, and also provisions for the garrison. This arrival was very timely, as every one had been living on the products

*The English traders of Carolina had not only carried on a traffic in Indians with the Southern tribes, for a number of years, to work their plantations, but had also imported slaves from Africa.

- of their hunting. He also brought with him two priests, M. de La Vente and M. de la Chaise, ancient Vicar of *St. Jacques de la Boncherie*, of *Paris*, and also a number of families for the concessions. On the 24th of November, M. de Bienville received news that *Pensacola* was invested by the English and Indians. He immediately set out with one hundred troops and four hundred Indians for *Pensacola*, and arrived there on the 8th of December; he found the siege raised, and the English and Indians had retreated. He returned to *Mobile* on the 19th, and gave permission to several families to reside on *Dauphine Island*, where they built residences, and cultivated garden vegetables, which was a great convenience to ships arriving here from France.
- 1707.
1708. On the 25th of February, 1708, M. de Bienville received dispatches from France, stating that he was superseded by M. de Muys, as Governor, and that M. Diron d'Artaguette had been appointed Intendant Commissary of the colony, to succeed M. de la Salle; but this news had hardly reached him, when he heard of the death of M. de Muys, who had died in Havana, on his voyage to Louisiana.* On the arrival of M. d'Artaguette at *Mobile*, in the *Renommee*, he reviewed the soldiers and officers of the garrison, and asked them if they were satisfied with the country, to which they replied they were highly pleased with it, and assured him the soil and climate was admirably adapted to agriculture, but that there were not enough of horses in the colony to work the plantations, when M. d'Artaguette promised to order more to be sent from France. This vessel sailed again early in April. Afterwards, M. de Bienville and d'Artaguette took with them sixteen men in a long-boat, to visit *Lake Pontchartrain* and the *Mississippi*. They stopped at *Biloxi* to visit M. de St. Denis, who gave them a cordial reception. They afterwards proceeded to the *Mississippi* river, which they ascended, as far as the *Cannes Brusles* (*Burnt Cans*), to visit the concession made to the Marquis d'Artaguette. They found the borders of the river very agreeable, and made frequent landings, for the pur-

*At this dark period of the colony, it consisted of only fourteen officers, of different grades, seventy-six soldiers, thirteen sailors, three priests, six mechanics, one Indian interpreter, twenty-four laborers, twenty-eight women, twenty-five children, and eighty Indian slaves; the rest had been cut off by yellow fever.

1708. pose of exploring the country. They also found the soil everywhere good, and extremely fertile. Having arrived at a place called *le Pointe aux Chenes* (*Live-Oak Point*), they made a great hunt for deer and ducks. On their return to *Mobile*, they were informed that the Canadian French, living among the *Illinois*, at *Cascaskias*, were exciting them to war against the neighboring tribes, and had made several prisoners, whom they sold to the English. Upon this information, M. M. d'Artaguet and de Bienville dispatched M. d'Éraque, and six men in a canoe, with letters to the Jesuit fathers, and presents to the Indian tribes, whom they advised to make peace among themselves. When M. d'Éraque had delivered his letters, he gave orders to the Canadians to cease their hostilities against the Indians, and not to excite them against each other. He afterwards addressed the Indians, and advised them to live in harmony with each other, at the same time making them presents. He then ascended the river as far up as the village of the *Illinoise-Couquias* (*Cahokias*), to whom he also made presents, recommending peace, and, at the same time, forbid the French settlers to go among them. He then returned among the Jesuits and foreign missionaries, and informed them of the intention of M. M. de Bienville and D'Artaguet to visit them with the severest chastisement should the like occur again. From this place, he went up the Missouri River, and exhorted the nations dwelling upon its banks to abstain from war, and, after distributing the usual presents among them, he returned to *Mobile*.

About this time, two *Mobilians*, who had married in the 1708. *Aiibamon* nation, and who lived among them with their families, discovered that that nation was inimical to the *Mobilians*, as well as the French, and had made a league with the *Cheroquis* (*Cherokees*),* the *Abeikas*, and the *Conchaques*, to wage war

*In the early settlement of Louisiana, the Cherokees, then a powerful nation, lived to the south and west of the *Tennessee*, called by them the *Cherokee River*, and extending from the head branches of the *Tombigby* to above the *Hicwassee*, east and south of the *Estunary*, and were divided into *Ottare* (*Mountain Cherokee*), and *Ayrate* (*Cherokees of the Valley*). They were the neighbors of the *Abeikas* and *Conchaques*.

The native land of the *Cherokee* was the most inviting and beautiful section of the United States, in regard to climate and productions. In the map of De Lisle, 1712, appended to the second volume, First Series, "Historical Collec-

against the French and *Mobilians* and burn their villages around our fort. On receiving this information, M. M. de Bienville and d'Artaguettes immediately set out at the head of a strong detachment, to attack them. They marched four days without seeing them, and, falling short of provisions, returned to the fort. Six weeks later, when our vigilance had considerably slackened, the *Alibamons* fell suddenly upon the village of the *Mobilians*, whom they did not altogether surprise, as M. M. de Bienville and d'Artaguettes had recommended them to keep ad-

tions of Louisiana," the *Tennessee River* is called the *Cheraquis*. In like manner, the name of this nation also designated the mountains near them. The *Currahee*, is only a corruption of *Cherokee*, and, in the maps and treaties where it is thus called, it means the mountains of the *Cherokees*. Of the martial spirit of this nation, there is abundant evidence to be found in the early history of the United States. They were constantly at war with the frontier tribes, and with the French and English, who were all the time encroaching upon their territory. But, since their removal to the Indian territory west of the *Arkansas*, they are becoming more peaceful and civilized, and have made considerable progress in literature and the useful arts. They have invented an alphabet, and print papers and books. They have schools and colleges, and a constitutional government, laws, and courts. They raise wheat, corn, cotton, and indigo, and manufacture cotton and woolen goods. They have large stocks of horses, mules, black cattle, swine, and sheep, with which they carry on a considerable trade with the adjoining States. A great part of the nation have adopted our mode of dress. The progress of their children in their schools and colleges has been as great as any other children—acquiring the knowledge of letters, arts, and sciences. Nature has given them the finest forms, and no man, who has had public business with them, can have a doubt of the high order of their intellect. It only requires the care of government to elevate them to a high standard of civilization, and protect them in their rights and property, out of which they have been, in the last two centuries, most shamefully swindled.

The *Cherokees* universally believe in the being of a God. They also believe in a future state of reward and punishment. They call God the *Great Spirit*, and worship him with great reverence. They have no words in their language that they can combine to profane his holy name. The present (1868) population, west of *Arkansas River*, is about twenty thousand (20,000), and remnants, still residing in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, three thousand (3,000). The library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*, contain the following MSS. and books of their language, viz.: Vocabularies, by Judge Campbell and B. Hawkins; *Cherokee* numerals, by W. Butler; specimens of the *Cherokee* newspapers (the "Messenger" and "Advocate"); school-books and Bibles; a grammar, by John Pickering; Gallatin's Synopsis, in Vol. II of "*Archaeologia Americana*;" "Mithridates," Vol. III, Part III, pp. 292-305; Worcester's and Pickering's remarks on the principles of the *Cherokee* language; besides a great number of public documents, selections from the Scriptures, hymns, and other pieces, in the *Cherokee* language.

vance guards some leagues distant from their village. The result of this precaution was, that when they approached with their allies, to the number of four thousand warriors, they only effected the destruction of a few cabins, about six leagues from us, and then retraced their steps in great haste.

CHAPTER VII.

1709. Early in the spring of 1709, *Fort Louis de la Mobile*,* and all the houses of the inhabitants in the vicinity, were inundated by a rise of the river, and none escaped, except those that stood upon high ground. M. de Bienville happened to be at the fort at this time, and, seeing this might frequently occur, resolved to move the fort nearer the sea. He, accordingly, selected a place where the nation of the *Chatots*** were residing, and gave them, in exchange for it, a piece of territory fronting on *Dog River*, two leagues further down. He afterwards, directed M. Pailloux aid-major, and several other officers, to proceed to mark out a place for a new fort and barracks, with ground sufficient for each family, to whom he gave lots of seventy-two feet front by one hundred and fifty feet in depth. He also gave the priests a square of ground for a Catholic church. Shortly after, M. de la Vigne Voisin, commander of a French frigate, arrived from *St. Malo*, and anchored off *Dauphine Island*. He came to Mobile to ask M. de Bienville's permission to build a fort and church on *Dauphine Island*, which was granted; and, on his return to his ship, he commenced immediately to construct a fort, with embrasures, which he mounted with cannon. He also erected a church on a hill overlooking the harbor, so that the crews of vessels arriving there could attend mass. These improvements had a most useful effect, in causing many of the colonists to cross over from the main-land to settle on the island; and, about this time, the *Oumas* also removed their chief village to the banks of the *Mississippi river*. The works of the new

*This fort was built by the French, about twelve leagues above the present city of *Mobile*, on the west bank of the river, in 1702, and was, for a long time, the chief settlement of the colony. It formed a good barrier, and served to protect the colony from the attacks of the *Choctaws*, *Chickasaws*, and other Indian nations in *Carolina*. The French also built a fort (*Toulouse*), eighty leagues higher up, on the *Tombecbe* (*Tombigby*) River, which served, also, to protect them from the incursions of the *Cherokees*, *Creeks*, and other Indian nations.

**The *Chatot* and *Thome* tribes were allied to the *Choctaws*, and spoke the French as well as the *Choctaw* languages. They lived south of *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, and were instructed in the Roman Catholic faith. The French, in Louisiana, used the *Choctaw* (*Tchactas*) language for their communications with other Indian tribes. See Baudry des Loziere's "*Voyage a la Louisiane*," 1794, and Luigi Castiglioni's "*L'aggio negli Stati Uniti del l'America*," etc., 1790.

fort,* in the meantime, progressed rapidly.

1710. The scarcity of provisions had become so great, that M. de Bienville, who had acted in the capacity of governor since the death of M. de Muys, informed the minister that he was compelled to scatter his men among the Indians for subsistence. The new fort and barracks being now partly finished, M. de
1710. Bienville ordered all the ammunition, cannon, and merchandize, to be sent to it, which had hardly been done when the frigate *Renommée*, commanded by M. de Remonville,** arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with reinforcements and provisions for the colony. M. Blondel, lieutenant of infantry was ordered to go, with thirty soldiers, to live among the *Choctaws*; and, M. de Waligny, with twenty-five men, accompanied by eighteen *Apalache* Indians, to reside on *Mobile Bay*, near *Fish River*. This nation, (the *Apalache*), professed to be Roman Catholics, and had been living in Spanish territory. Their village having been destroyed by the *Alibamons*, they came to establish themselves among the *Thome* and *Mobilians*. The men and women go properly dressed to church. The men wear long coats, and the women dress in cloaks, and silk petticoats, after the fashion of the French; and wear their hair plaited in two tresses, after the Spanish fashion. When mass is concluded, the men, women, and children, return home, and disguise themselves, and pass the evening in dancing with the French, who go to visit them. They are very partial to the French, and speak both the French

*This fort was afterwards called *Conde*. It was reconstructed with brick, after the manner of *Vauban* with bastions, half-moons, deep ditches, covered way, and glacis, with houses for the officers, and barracks for the soldiers, and was mounted with sixteen cannon. The remains of this fort, which have now been removed, were, for many years, an object of great interest to the antiquarian who would sometimes visit its ruins, as well as those of *Biloxi*, *Dauphine*, and *Ship* islands.

**Author of "Memoir addressed to Count de Pontchartrain, on the Importance of Establishing a Colony in Louisiana." See pp. 1-16 of this volume.

and Spanish languages.*

1710. M. de Bienville has built himself a beautiful country house on the sea shore, about a league from the fort, which he has ornamented with a grove of orange trees, where he resides, most of the year, for his health. In the month of September, an English corsair made a descent upon Dauphine Island, destroyed, and carried off more than sixty thousand livres of property.

*The Apalache Indians are described by the historian of Hernando de Soto's expedition into Florida as a brave and numerous people, spread over the plains and morasses to the south, and along the Gulf of Mexico. They appreciated their independence too much, and refused to become slaves of Narvaez and DeSoto. But few words of their language are preserved. This nation resided, in former times, in the region of country between the *Suwanee* and *Apalachicola* rivers, from which they were finally driven out by the *Alibamons* and *Creeks*.

CHAPTER VIII.

1711. Early in January, 1711, M. Diron d'Artaguette, intendant commissary of the colony, arrived at *Mobile*, and entered upon the duties of his office. In the month of May, the *Chickasaws* declared war against the *Choctaws*. Several Canadian traders came from the *Illinois-Caskaskias*, with letters from Father Marest to M. de Bienville and d'Artaguette, in which he begged them to send an officer, with a detachment of troops, to restrain the Canadians from committing scandalous crimes with the daughters and wives of the *Illinois*, and thus preventing them from being converted to the Roman Catholic faith. These Indians are industrious and skillful in cultivating their lands, breaking them up with the plough, which they owe to the Jesuits, who have resided among them more than sixty years. This country is one of the most beautiful of all Louisiana. Every kind of grain and vegetables are produced here in the greatest abundance. It is in this country that you may behold the most magnificent prairies in the world. They have horses, which they purchase from the *Cadadoquioux* for merchandize, and pasture them here. They have, also, large numbers of oxen, cows, sheep, etc., upon the prairies. Poultry is abundant, and fish plentiful. So that, in fact, they lack none of the necessaries or conveniences of life.
- 1711.

Near this village are three mills for grinding grain—one wind-mill, owned by the Jesuits, and two horse-mills, belonging to the *Illinois*. The *Caskaskias* women are very skillful. They generally sew together the buffalo-skins, which have wool as fine as that of English sheep, with thread of a fine, white quality. With this material they also manufacture garments, dyed with black, yellow and red colors. These they make similar to those worn by our women of *Brittany*, or the loose wrappers of the French ladies. They add to this a head-dress. They also wear petticoats. They use a thread in sewing their clothes, made from the nerves, or tendons of the deer, which is prepared after the following manner: when the nerves, or tendons, of this animal are stripped, they are exposed to the sun, twice every twenty-four hours, after which, they are beaten, and draw from it a thread as fine and white as the most beautiful *Maline* thread of France.

The *Illinois* are very fond of good living, and have frequent feasts among themselves. Their choicest meats are the flesh of dogs, or wolves, which are brought up and fattened in their villages. They are, for the most part, Catholics, and have a very large church in their village, which is well arranged in the interior. Besides the baptismal fonts, there are three chapels, ornamented with a bell and belfry. They regularly attend the
 1711. services, which the Jesuits have translated from the Latin into their own language.* They sing, alternately, with the French,

*The *Illinois* Indians, a tribe of the great *Algonquin* stock, were once powerful on the northern shores of the lakes. Their manners, customs, and religion, have been frequently described by travellers and the Jesuit fathers. In a letter from Father Marest to Father Germon, from "the village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, *Caskaskias*, November 12, 1712," he says: "The *Illinois* are much less barbarous than the other Indians. Christianity, and their intercourse with the French have, by degrees, civilized them. This is particularly remarked in our village, of which the inhabitants are almost all Christians, and has brought many French to establish themselves here, three of whom have married *Illinois* women. We find in the women a docility and ardor for the practice of the Christian virtues. This mission owes its establishment to the late Father Gravier. The following is the order we observe, each day, in our mission:—

"Early in the morning, we assemble the *Catechumens* at the church, where they have prayers, they receive instruction, and chant anticles. When they have retired, mass is said, at which all the Christians assist—the men placed on one side and the women on the other. They have prayers, which are followed by giving them a homily after which each one goes to his labor. We then spend our time in visiting the sick, to give them the necessary remedies, and to console those who are laboring under any affliction.

"In the afternoon, all assemble, Christians and *Catechumens*, men and children, young and old, to whom questions are put by the missionary. In the evening, all assemble again at the church, to hear instruction, say prayers, and sing hymns. On Sundays and festivals, we add to the ordinary exercises instructions, which are given after the vespers. These hymns are their best instructions, which they retain more easily, since the words are set to airs, with which they are taught, and which pleases them. They often approach the sacraments; and the custom among them is to confess, and to communicate, once a fortnight."

Father Gravier was the first who investigated the principles of their language, and reduced them to grammatical rules. See Gallatin's "Vocabulary of Fifty-three Indian languages, and Comparative Vocabulary of Sixteen Tribes," in "*Archaeologia Americana*," Vol. II, "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society;" "Comparative Vocabulary of the Lenni-Lenape and Algonquin MS.," in the library of the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*; M. Smith Barton's "Comparative Vocabularies;" "Mithridates," Vol. III, Part III, pp. 343, 346, 416, 417, from La Hontan, Smith, Barton, Long, and Mackenzie; Duponceau's "*Memoire sur le Systeme Grammatical des Langues de Quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amerique du Nord*, Paris, 1838."

the latter, in French, and the former, in their own language. When a Frenchman wishes to marry one of their daughters, he sends a present, in proportion to his fortune, to the brother of the girl; for neither the father nor mother trouble themselves about it.

1711. If the brother receives the present, it is understood he gives his consent, and he invites the father and mother to his house, and he consults with them. If they find him an honest and proper person, the son then divides the present with his parents, and, on their part, they give, in return, more valuable presents than they receive, which are sent by the son to his intended brother-in-law. The next day, the suitor visits the brother and parents of the girl, whom he salutes, when all of them at once proceed to the Jesuit fathers, who inscribe the marriage agreement in their registers.

The bans are then published, during three consecutive weeks, when, if no objection is made, the marriage takes place as in France. The wedding usually takes place at the house of the bridegroom, which is attended by all the relatives, who, after church service in the morning, send to his house the necessary provisions for the occasion. They then conduct the married couple home, where a repast is prepared, and, after that, dancing begins, and is continued until evening.

This nation is very brave in war. They use both the gun, bow, and arrow, and are not so inhuman as other tribes. The children taken by them in war are saved, brought up, and educated by the Jesuit fathers; but the men, and old people, who are capable of doing an injury, are put to death with a club.

1711. In September, the frigate *Renommée*, commanded by M. de Remonville, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with provisions for the colony. He also brought M. de Sainte Helene, midshipman, to serve as aid-de-camp to M. de Bienville, his uncle. In November, M. d'Artaguet, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, returned to France, carrying with him the sincere regrets of the colony.

CHAPTER IX.

1712. In January, 1712, M. de Sainte Helene sailed for *Vera Cruz*, to purchase provisions for the colony, and, while at anchor in the roadstead, his vessel encountered a violent storm, which drove it ashore, and, very soon after, it went to pieces. The Viceroy of Mexico (the Duke de Linares, who succeeded the Duke d'Albuquerque), on hearing of this disaster, sent immediately a vessel to take M. de Sainte Helene and his crew back to Louisiana, with letters for M. de Bienville. In March, a frigate, commanded by M. de la Vigne Voisin, arrived in *Mobile Bay*, with letters from M. Ducasse, Governor of St. Domingo, to the Viceroy of Mexico.

1713. On the 17th of March, 1713, it was announced, by the firing of a salute, that the frigate *Baronne de la Fosse*, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, had arrived in *Mobile Bay*, with news that a peace had been concluded at Utrecht. Among the passengers who came over were M. de la Motte Cadillac,* the new Governor-General of Louisiana, Mde. de la Motte, her sons and daughters, and servants; besides, twenty-five young girls from *Brittany*, who came with the expectation of finding husbands in the colony. M. Duclos, intendant commissary, in place of M. d'Artaguet, who had returned to France; M. Le Bas, comp-

*M. Antoine de la Motte Cadillac was born in *Gasoony* (France); and, before he came to Louisiana, had served, with distinction, as an officer in Canada. In 1712, he was appointed Governor of Louisiana, and arrived there in May, 1713. Being a partner of M. de Crozat, they obtained the exclusive privilege of the commerce of that vast country for fifteen years. He visited the Illinois country, and established a post in Alabama. He ordered a fort to be built at the *Natchez*, which he called *Fort Rosalie*, in compliment to Mde. de Pontchartrain, and another at *Natchitoches*, to prevent the Spaniards approaching too closely the French colony. He administered the government of Louisiana till the 9th of March 1717, when he resigned and returned to France, where he died in the following year.

- troller of finances, M. de Richebourg,* and M. M. Dirigoïn and La Loire des Ursins, as agents and directors of M. Crozat, Marquis de Chatel,** to whom the king had granted a charter of Louisiana, by letters patent;*** and M. de Bienville retained as lieutenant-governor of the Colony. At the time of the transfer, there was in the colony about four hundred persons, including twenty negroes. The same ship also brought over a large supply of provisions and ammunition, which was deposited in the magazines and public stores at *Mobile* and *Dauphin Island*. A few days after the arrival of M. de la Motte Cadillac, he received orders from M. Crozat to send out detachments among the Spaniards, for the purpose of trade, and to the
1713. *Illinois*, for the same purpose, and also to discover mines. M. de la Jonquiere, and M. Dirigoïn, the director, was also ordered to proceed to *Vera Cruz*, and exchange some of the merchandize brought from France, for cattle and horses, of which we were greatly in need, and, if possible, to establish a free trade between the two countries, to which the Viceroy of Mexico refused to give his consent. He would only give them permission to purchase some cattle and provisions, which were delivered to them in the roadstead, with orders to weigh anchor, and depart immediately. M. Juchereau de St Denis, a brave and enterprising officer, was called to *Mobile* by M. de la Motte Cadillac, and, after his arrival, he made him a proposition to go to *Natchitoches*, and from thence by land to Mexico, to establish commercial relations with that country, which he accepted, and took ten thousand livres worth of merchandize from the public stores, and loaded it in five canoes; and, provided with a passport to the Spanish Governor, he set out from the fort, and, accompanied by twenty men, of which I was one of the number, we proceeded on our expedition to Mexico. We stopped at *Biloxi*, where M. de St. Denis resides. From there, I set out in a canoe, with two Indians, to go to the Colapissas, to bring back some

*Author of "*Memoire sur la Premiere des Natchez*," First Series, "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 241-252.

**M. Crozat, Marquis de Chatel, was one of the bankers and great financiers who figured in the reign of Louis XIV, and who accumulated a large fortune out of the East India trade. He died June 7, 1738.

***See Letters Patent, First Series, "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 38-42

of the *Natchitoches** Indians and their families to Biloxi, in order that they might accompany us up the *Red River*, as far as their first village.

1713. Upon my arrival among them, the next day, I was well received by both nations; but, upon the following day, when I was preparing to depart, jealousy, or rage, took possession of the *Colapissas*, who fell upon the *Natchitoches*, and attacked them with guns and arrows, and, despite of all my efforts to restrain them from fighting, seventeen of the *Natchitoches* were killed; and it was with extreme danger and difficulty that I was able to save the chief, by covering him with my own body. The *Colapissas* seized upon more than fifty of the *Natchitoches* women and girls; the remainder of the men dispersed themselves in the woods, and, when evening came, they joined me like a flock of scattered sheep. I conducted them to M. de St. Denis, who was greatly surprised at this tragical event, and promised that they should be avenged, and the *Colapissas* should be compelled to return to them all their women and children.

We remained some time at *Biloxi*, for the purpose of collecting all we could of the *Natchitoches*, and succeeded in obtaining about thirty more. We then transported our merchandize to the banks of the *Mississippi*, and proceeded from thence, in our canoes, to the *Red River*.

We ascended the *Mississippi* to *Pass-Manchac*, where we killed fifteen buffaloes. The next day, we landed again, and killed eight more buffaloes. The next day, we landed again, and killed eight more buffaloes, and as many deer. We then proceeded directly to the village of the *Tonicas*, two leagues beyond the mouth of *Red River*, to obtain all the provisions we possibly could. M. de St. Denis held an interview with the chief of the *Tonicas*, and engaged him to accompany us, with fifteen of his men, it being understood that they would be remunerated for their services. We then entered the mouth of the *Red River* (formerly called the *Oumas*, or *Sabloniere*, also, 1713. the river of the *Natchitoches*), which empties into the *Mississippi*

*A small number of the *Natchitoches* nation was domesticated with the *Colapissas*, on the northern shore of *Lake Pontchartrain*.

from the west, its course being from the north-west. At a distance of eighth leagues in ascending, on the right hand side, we came to a river which empties into *Red River*, called the *Quachitas (Black River)*. Five leagues higher up, we came to a large prairie, and four leagues further, came to *Saline*, or *Salt River*. Six leagues above *Saline River*, we arrived at a small stream, upon the banks of which dwells a nation, called *Tassenogoula*, which, in French, signifies the *Nation of the Rocks*. Their village is situated at the base of a chain of hills, running north and south. Their cabins are constructed and covered in the same manner as those of the *Natches*; their manners, religion, and customs, being the same, as they lived a long time with that nation, from which they separated, on account of the perpetual wars among them.

Nine leagues higher up, we came to the falls, extending the whole width of the river. Here it became necessary for us to make a portage of our canoes and merchandize, to the head of the falls, and, one league above, we encountered another fall where we were obliged to perform the same operation. Three leagues beyond this, we entered a branch of the *Red River*, twelve leagues in extent, the terminus of which leads into a small lake, about two leagues in length, and about half a league in width. On the right of this lake, the land is quite elevated. Two leagues further on, we came to another lake, eight leagues in circuit, and two leagues wide, through which this branch of *Red River* passes; and, ascending five leagues more, came to a hill, called *l'Ecore a la Croix (the Bluff of the Cross)*. Near this place, we met the rest of *Natchitoches*, who had come by land, and arrived here before us.

1713. They were accompanied by another nation of Indians, called the *Doustionis*, numbering about two hundred men. They followed us to the village of the *Natchitoches*, nine leagues higher up, which is situated upon an island, formed by the separation of *Red River* into two branches. As soon as M. de St. Denis arrived there, he assembled the chiefs of the two nations, and, in the presence of the chief of the *Tonicas*, told them they must begin to cultivate their lands, that he was about to distribute to them the corn and grain he had brought with them for that purpose. And, moreover, they would always have the French among them, whom it would be necessary to supply with the means of subsistence. He recommended them to go to work

immediately, telling them they would have nothing to fear from hostile nations, so long as they continued united among themselves.

We distributed among them pickaxes, hoes, and axes. They cut down the trees, with which we constructed two houses in their villages, for lodging and storing our merchandize. After remaining here six weeks, we set out, on the 23rd of August, to explore the Spanish territory,* taking with us twelve Frenchmen, fifteen *Tonikas*, and as many of the Natchitoches as guides. Ten Frenchmen were left to guard the merchandize in the 1714. *Natchitoches* village, with the injunction to keep close watch over it. I was one of those who accompanied M. de St. Denis. We went, by land, to the village of the Assinais, because the river, above *Natchitoches*, is impeded by timber. After a march of twenty-two days, we arrived among the Assinais.** During the entire route, we had lived on the products of our hunting. Our rations consisted of an ear of corn, and a piece of buffalo meat. The *Assinais* were astonished at seeing us, as they had never before seen any French, and had only seen some half-nakes, half-civilized Spaniards, who, for five years past, had ceased to visit them. They chanted the *calumet* of peace to M. de St. Denis, who gave them presents, and employed them as guides in search of the Spaniards.

In their village, we found a woman, named Angelica, who had been baptized by the Spanish priests. She spoke Spanish

*In this expedition, M. de St. Denis was instructed to explore the country westward, and to observe the movements of the Spaniards on the *Rio del Norte*, and to see if they had advanced into Louisiana, now Texas. No settlement had then been made by them east of that river; but they claimed jurisdiction over all that country to *Red River*, under the name of the province of "*Texas*". The more effectually to hold this country, the French, afterwards, established a mission and fort on the upper tributaries of the *Sabine*, which was held until the treaty of 1763, when Louisiana was ceded to Spain.

**The name of this nation is written in different ways, by travellers since the time of LaSalle. *Cenis*, *Assinais*, *Assonys*, a numerous and powerful nation, made up of many different tribes, who roamed over the whole country of Texas, from the *Bay of St. Bernard* (*St. Louis*) to the *Red River*, the customs, manners, and religion of which were not different from other tribes in the West. But few words of this nation are found in early writers.

very well; and, as M. de St. Denis was familiar with that language, he made use of her as the chief interpretest. We took but few provisions with us, as we could not obtain any among the *Assinai*, and were COMPELLED AGAIN TO SUBSIST BY HUNTING. Despite, however, of want and fatigue, we were sustained by the hope of soon being recompensed by the discoveries which awaited us. We pursued our journey, in this way, for the distance of one hundred and fifty
1714. leagues, and, at the end of a month and a half, reached the first Spanish village called *El Presidio del Norte* (the village of the *River of the North*), which is situated on the banks of the river of that name.

As soon as we arrived there, Don Senor Raimond, a captain of Spanish cavalry, came to speak with M. de St. Denis, and learn the object of his visit, and what he wished. M. de St. Denis told him that he had been sent there by the Governor of Louisiana, for the purpose of opening commercial relations with the Spaniards. The captain, who was a man of good sense, replied, that he had no authority in the premises, but would write to the Governor of *Caouis*, and give him an answer, when the orders of his superior were received. He then provided lodgings for the soldiers, and invited M. de St. Denis to his own house, accompanied by a surgeon, Jalot, his valet, and myself. We waited full six weeks without receiving an answer from the Governor of *Caouis*, as he, in turn, had sent a similar message to the Governor of Paraille, a small town about thirty leagues from *Caouis** for his advice. These towns are about sixty leagues distant from the *River of the North* (*Rio del Norte*) Mining, and coining silver, are carried on by the inhabitants of both places.

At length, Don Gasparido Anaya, the Governor of *Caouis*, sent an officer and twenty-five cavalry to the village where we were, with an order to bring M. de St. Denis before him. He told us, upon his departure, to wait his return in this village, where he would direct his order and information. We remained there over a month—I at the house of the captain, and the soldiers and Indians at their several lodgings, until we received
1714. the order from M. de St. Denis to return to *Natchitoches*; be-

*The town of *Caouis* is about seven hundred and fifty miles from Mexico.

cause the Governor of *Caouis*, after an examination of the passport of M. de St. Denis, resolved to send him to Mexico, three hundred leagues distant, where he arrived on the 25th of June, and did not return until the following year (1715).

The rest of us had to depart, immediately, upon the reception of our orders, which we did, with the greatest reluctance; for the Spanish damsels of that village were very agreeable to us, and were themselves vexed at our departure. I gave the captain—at whose house M. de St. Denis and I had lodged—my most sincere thanks for his kindness and hospitality. His name was Don Pedro de Villescás. He had two daughters, one of whom (Donna Maria) was subsequently married to M. de St. Denis, upon his return from Mexico. We set off upon our journey with great regret, and few provisions, and were two months in reaching the village of the *Assinais*, as we were often obliged to stop and hunt, in order to obtain subsistence.

At the village of the *Assinais*, we stopped for repose and provisions. There were but few Indians in the village at the time, as they were out upon a war expedition against the *Kitaesechis* (Keechies).* They make war quite different from the Indians on the banks of the *Mississippi*. They are all mounted on horseback, with quivers fashioned behind, filled with arrows. They carry a bow, and small shield made of buffalo-hide, which is held in the left hand, and is intended to protect them from the arrows of their enemies. They have no other curb or bridal
1714. for their horses than a piece of hair-rope; their stirrups are made of the same material, which are fastened to deer-skin, three or four in thickness, thus forming their saddle.

The *Assinais* returned from their expedition the day after we arrived in their village, forming a body of one hundred and fifty armed and mounted men, who were all excellent horsemen. Of six prisoners whom they captured, only two were brought to their village, the others having been killed and eaten by them during the journey. They exposed these two unfortunate prisoners upon the public square, with their hands tightly bound

**Keechies*, a tribe of Indians, related to the *Panis* or *Pawnees*, living on the *Canadian River*. See Whipple's *Vocabulary*; *Railroad Reports*, Vol. II.

behind their backs, and guarded by twelve men, to prevent them from entering into any of the cabins; for if, by any ruse or force, a prisoner can take refuge in one of their cabins, he is a precious morsel, to be eaten by their women and children. After this repast is over, they untie their prisoners from the frames, cut them up in pieces, which is served up to each family, and cooked in a pot. During the operation of cooking, these cannibals (*anthropophagi*) keep up a dance while eating them.

Their neighbors, with whom they were at war, were called the *Aquodoces* (*Nacogdoches*), residing about ten leagues from their village, the *Cadodaguioux*, about forty leagues off to the north, and the *Three Canes*,* about one hundred leagues in a northern direction. All those nations make war on horseback; and each warrior possesses from three to four of those animals.

Upon leaving them, we passed through a village of Indians, called the *Yatasses*,** whom we persuaded to come with us, and live among the *Natchitoches*, where we conducted them, with their women, children, and cattle. They have resided together, ever since, in perfect harmony and good feeling.

On our return to *Natchitoches*, we found the twelve Frenchmen whom we had left to guard the merchandize, and told them that we had orders from M. de St. Denis to wait here for him. The *Tonicas* left us here, and returned to their homes.

*The *Three Canes*, or *Tawakenoes*, lived on the head-branches of the *Rio Brazoa*, towards *Santa Fe*, about two hundred miles from *Nacogdoches*. They spoke the same language as the *Panis* or *Towiaches*, a warlike tribe on the banks of the *Platte*, *Kansas*, and head-waters of the *Red River*. See Say's "Vocabulary of Indian Languages," 8vo, *Philadelphia*, 1822; Gallatin's "Synopsis;" Balbi's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41, No. 738.

**There are but few of this tribe now living. Their village, a few years ago, was in the district of the *Natchitoches*, where the French had a station. They speak the *Caddo* language.

CHAPTER X.

1714. I was yet among the *Natchitoches*, awaiting the return of M. de St. Denis, but, seeing that we were getting short of provisions, I descended the river in a canoe, with six of my comrades to obtain food among the *Natchez*, where I met the Messrs. de la Loire des Ursins, who informed me of their intentions.

I found, among the *Natchez*, some slaves belonging to the nation of the *Chaouanons* (*Shawanees*), who had been captured by a strong party of *Chicahas*, *Yazons*, and *Natchez*, who under the pretext of visiting their village for the purpose of dancing* the *calumet* of peace, had attacked them in the most base and treacherous manner, and killed their *Grand Chief*, with most of
1714. his family, took eleven prisoners, among whom was the wife of the chief, and brought them to the *Natchez*.

I used all the efforts in my power to have them liberated, but was unsuccessful. I was very much astonished to meet three Englishmen there, who had come with the intention of purchasing them as slaves. They are the cause of exciting those savages to war with each other, as it enabled them to purchase a large number of slaves, whom they convey into *Carolina* to work on their plantations.

In the meantime, M. de la Loire des Ursins received orders from M. de la Motte Cadillac to arrest a certain English officer, or lord, who had come to Louisiana for the purpose of tampering with the tribes dwelling upon the borders of the *Mississippi*. He was then among the *Natchez*.

After sending off the canoe, loaded with flour, to my

*This dance of the *calumet* of peace is a solemn ceremony, and different from the dance of the *calumet* of war, which they only perform on important occasions, such as to confirm an alliance, or make peace with their neighbors. They also perform it when they come to pay a visit to a nation, on which occasion they get up a grand entertainment. The *calumet* is made like a common tobacco pipe, but larger, and is fixed to a hollow reed, to hold it for smoking. The head is made of baked clay, or red stone, to look like the head of a bird, or animal, and very much ornamented with feathers of different colors.

comrades, who were waiting for it at the Natchitoches, I, with two Frenchmen, remained to assist M. de la Loire in the execution of the orders he had received. We dared not arrest him in the village of the *Natchez* for fear of giving offence, and of opposition, on their part, to the measure. But, not doubting that he would descend the river, we determined to waylay him on his journey. Before leaving the village, M. de la Loire resolved, however, to have an interview with him, in order to discover his designs. Having approached him, he asked him if he had come to make any purchases among the *Natchez*. He replied, very frankly, that he, with two Englishmen, had visited the *Natchez*, for the purpose of purchasing peltries, and that it was his intention to go among the *Colapissas*, on his way down the river, thence among the *Choctaws*, where he had a depot of merchandize
1714. and peltry, and from thence would return, by land, into *Carolina*, in company with the other Englishmen, who were, like himself, engaged in traffic with the Indians.

After his conversation, M. de la Loire des Ursins rejoined us. I advised him to let him take his departure first, so that he would not distrust us, and that, should he get in advance a day, I was sure we could overtake him. M. de la Loire took my advice, and permitted him to depart.

The next day, twelve of us descended the river, in two canoes. We learned, from some Indian hunters, the Englishman was at the village of the *Tonicas*, which nation were chanting to him the *calumet*, a circumstance that obliged us to pass lower down, and wait for him at *Manchac*, where we found the *Taensas*, who had abandoned their village on account of the continual wars waged against them by the *Oumas*. We prevailed upon them to accompany us to *Mobile*, where land would be given to them to cultivate, which offer they accepted.

We landed near an encampment of Indians, whom we desired to awaken us, should they see a canoe passing in which there was an Englishman. The chief showed us the presents he had given him, and told us he had crossed over to the other side of the river, where he had stopped for the purpose of passing the night. We took with us two *Tensas* chiefs as guides, and crossed the river. We found him occupied in sketching, and he was much surprised to see us approach, armed with muskets.

and, yet more, when M. de la Loire informed him that he had an order to arrest and conduct him to *Mobile*. He observed
 1714. that the two nations were at peace, that they could find nothing to reproach him for, and that if it were exacted of him to go, it must be done by force. M. de la Loire, who had orders to take him, dead or alive, replied, that he arrested him in the name of the King, and, at the same time, seized hold of him. He endeavored to make some resistance, but uselessly. We embarked him in one of our canoes, and the fifteen *Choctaws* who accompanied him followed us, as did also the *Taensas*, to whom we abandoned the merchandize found in the canoe of the Englishman, and conducted him to *Mobile*, without stopping, where we delivered him up to M. de Bienville, as M. de la Motte Cadillac had gone up the river among the *Illinois*.

M. de Bienville gave to the *Taensas* the place formerly occupied by the *Chaouanons* (*Shavanees*), and *Taouatchas*, two leagues distant from the fort. The English officer remained at *Mobile* but three days, where he was very kindly treated by M. de Bienville. He was then set at liberty, and profitted by it to visit *Pensacola*, where he was also kindly received, and treated by the Spanish Governor, Don Guxman. He left *Pensacola* to visit the *Alibamons*, but, having fallen upon a party of *Thomes* hunters he was captured and slain. We heard of this accident some two months after. M. de Bienville sent home the fifteen *Choctaws* who had accompanied the English lord in his voyage down the *Mississippi*. Upon their arrival at their village, they did not fail to tell that the Englishman had been captured by the French; whereupon, the *Choctaws* killed all the English dwelling among them, and pillaged their merchandize. The
 1714. other nations imitated their example, so that the evils which the English had planned to inflict upon the French reacted upon themselves.

The *Choctaws* were not alone in committing hostilities against the English, for the *Cherokees*, the *Abeikas*, and the *Alibamons*, who lived in the vicinity of *Carolina*, went, to the number of three thousand warriors, to invade *Carolina*, where they burned and pillaged a great number of dwellings, made many prisoners of men and women, as well as negroes, and brought them all to their villages. When M. de Bienville received this information, he immediately provided for the re-

demption of all the English—men, women, and children and sent every one, who desired it, back to their homes. M. de la Loire des Ursins then reascended the river to the *Natches*. M. de la Motte Cadillac returned at the end of the year from the mines in Illinois, and afterwards sent fifty miners there to commence mining operations.

- The twelve Frenchmen who remained among the *Natchitoches*, tired of waiting the return of M. de St. Denis, and, falling short of provisions, came to *Mobile*, with the merchandize entrusted to their care. The *Grand Chief* of the Indians, who dwelt upon the borders of *Carolina*, and who had the title of Emperor, came to *Mobile* with the chiefs of the other nations, to chant the *calumet* of peace with M. de la Motte Cadillac. The principal chief of the *Alibamons*, in company with the Emperor, proposed to M. de la Motte Cadillac to make peace, and construct a fort among them, at the expense of his nation—such a one as the French should desire. He took him at his word, and
1714. sent Captain de la Tour, two lieutenants, and one hundred men, to their country, and selected an elevated spot, upon the banks of the Coosa River, at double the distance of musket-shot from their village, where the Indians helped them construct a fort, about three hundred feet square, with lodgings for both officers and soldiers, and a large magazine for ammunition and provisions.* We have always, since, preserved this fort, which we called *Fort Toulouse*, and kept it constantly garrisoned with troops and munitions of war, because it is situated in the direct route in going to, and returning from, *Carolina* and *Georgia*. As yet, no permanent settlement was made at the *Natches*.

*This fort was built on the banks of the Coosa, four miles above the junction of that river with the *Tallapoosa*. After the peace of 1762, it was occupied by the English. In the war of the United States with Great Britain, in 1812, General Jackson built a new fort on its ruins, which took his name.

CHAPTER XI.

1714. At the end of the year 1714, M. de Tissenet, from Canada arrived at *Mobile*, to enter the service of M. Crozat. He brought with him some specimens of minerals (lead) from the mines in the neighborhood of *Caskaskias*, that had been given him by some Canadians, in which M. de la Motte Cadillac discovered some silver, and concluded to visit them privately. He set out, accordingly, for the *Illinois*, in January, 1715, to explore
1715. the lead mines fourteen leagues to the west of the *Mississippi*, and, after his departure, M. de Bienville took measures to put a stop to the English trading with the *Choctaws*, and other Indian nations in the neighborhood of the French, and on the *Mississippi*. In July, a boat arrived at the fort, and reported that several Indian tribes had fallen upon the English trading in their villages, and had massacred a number of them.

- On the 15th of August, a brig of war, the *Dauphine*, commanded by M. Berranger, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with provisions for the colony, and two companies of infantry, commanded by M. M. Bajot and Marigny de Mandeville.* In the
1715. same vessel also came M. Rogoen, to relieve M. Dirigoïn, one of M. Crozat's directors. After landing the troops and provisions, the *Dauphin* returned to France with M. Dirigoïn, and dispatches for M. Crozat.

In the meantime, M. de Bienville received orders from the King to commence an establishment at the *Natchez*. The news that four Canadians, descending the *Mississippi* from the *Illinois*, had been assassinated by the *Natchez*, caused M. de Bienville to hasten his departure for their country. He had ordered one company of infantry to be sent there, to make it his headquarters. He set out, accordingly, and arrived at the fort on the *Mississippi*, where he found M. M. de Pailloux and de Richebourg with the provisions he had sent from *Mobile*, and ordered them to proceed to the *Tonicas*, a post which had been established some time before, two leagues above the mouth of *Rea*

*This officer, whose descendants still reside in Louisiana, and who are among the most distinguished families there, afterwards wrote a "*Memoire sur la Louisiane*," which was published in *Paris*, 1759.

- River*, on the borders of a lake, where they arrived on the 23d of April. M. Davion, the missionary at the *Tonicas*, warned M. de Bienville to be upon his guard with the *Tonicas*. A short time after, M. de la Loire des Ursins, the elder, descended from the *Natchez* to *Mobile*, and, on his way down, he met a canoe with four Frenchmen, who were ascending the river to the *Illinois*, for the purpose of traffic. Upon their arrival at the *Natchez*, they engaged four of that nation to assist them on their voyage up the river, as the current was, at that time, very rapid. Upon reaching *Petit Gulf*, they encamped for the night, and, while asleep, the Indians killed them, and threw them into the river, and then descended the river with the merchandize to their village, where they made a division of it.

- I was at the *Natchez* when this occurred. M. de Bienville rejoined them at the *Tonicas*, and sent a Frenchman to inform the *Natchez* that he was coming to form a settlement among them. After receiving the *calumet* from the *Tonicas*, he encamped upon an island, where he had ordered an entrenchment to be made, and barracks for the provisions and ammunition he brought with him. On the 27th of April, three *Natchez* chiefs arrived, and presented the *calumet*, which M. de Bienville rejected, until satisfaction was rendered for the Frenchmen they had killed. They were confounded at this reply, and the *Little Chief* lowered his *calumet*, and raised his eyes and arms to the Sun, and invoked the forgiveness of M. de Bienville. He then presented the *calumet* again, which M. de Bienville refused, until the *White Chief* and accomplices of the murder should be given up, and placed in irons. As the water of the *Mississippi* continued to rise, it caused a great deal of sickness, and obliged him to send the sick to the village of the *Tunicas*, which was upon high ground, where they remained until they got well. On the 17th of May, the prisoners proposed to M. de Bienville to send two of their chiefs to the *Great Chief* of the *Natchez*, for the heads of the murderers. They brought him, at last, the head of the brother of the *Great Chief*, called the *Arrow*, who was one of the murderers, and had been a great disturber of the public peace. The punishment of this chief restored peace, and it was now stipulated that the *Natchez* should furnish the lumber to build a fort in their country for the safety of the French. Thus ended the first war, or difficulty with the *Natchez*. The work

was now commenced on the fort, under the direction of M. de Pailloux, who was appointed, by M. de Bienville, commandant.

On the 22d of July, M. de Bienville having been informed that the fort was almost finished, he ordered the chief of the *Tunicas* to furnish him with thirty men to aid him in ascending the river, which was still very rapid, as he had but six men remaining in health. On the 26th, we arrived at the *Natchez*, and the *Great Chief* furnished him with one hundred men to remove his effects from the canoes to the fort. The next day, we placed the few soldiers who remained in health to work upon the fort until the 2d of August, when it was entirely inclosed; and the *Natchez* covered the barracks, store-house, guard-house, and magazine with bark, which was finished on the 5th. On the 25th, about thirty *Yasous* and six hundred *Natchez*, without arms, came to dance the *calumet* before the fort, to show their joy at having the French established among them. On the 28th, M. de Bienville seeing that all was tranquil, and had nothing to fear from the *Natchez*, gave instructions to M. de Pailloux what to do, and took his departure, the next day, for *Mobile*, where he had to render an account to M. de la Motte Cadillac.

On the 4th of October, he arrived at *Fort Louis de la Mobile*, where he found an order from the King, appointing him commander-in-chief of the colony, during the absence of M. de l'Épiney, who had been appointed governor in place of M. de la Motte Cadillac.

In October, M. M. de St. Denis, le Roy, la Freniere, and Beaulieu *freres*, formed a commercial partnership, and purchased, from the store of M. Crozat, sixty thousand livres worth of merchandize to sell to the Spaniards in the kingdom of *New Leon*, and, on the 10th of October, they set out from *Mobile* to go to Mexico.

CHAPTER XII.

1717. On the 9th of March, 1717, three of M. de Crozat's ships arrived in the roads off *Dauphine Island*, from France. The *Duclos*, commanded by M. de Golville, the *Paon*, by M. Dusan-Santille, and the *Peace*, by M. Jary. They brought over M. de l'Épinay, the new governor, and M. Hubert, Intendant Commissary,* to succeed M. Duclos; also, M. M. d'Artaguet, Gouris, Dubreuil, Guenot, Aruths de Bonil, Trefontaine, and Mossy, who came to establish settlements in Louisiana. Having heard of their arrival, M. de Bienville went to pay his respects to them, when the new governor presented him with the Cross of St. Louis, which his Majesty had sent him as a reward for his distinguished service in the colony. The arrival of the new governor caused much dissatisfaction at first, as he wished to enforce new regulation. On the 25th of August, M. de St. Denis returned to *Mobile* from his voyage of discoveries.

1717. M. M. De l'Épinay and de Bienville, seeing there was no good anchorage for ships coming from France, ordered a new fort to be built upon the main-land, opposite *Ship Island*. The place selected was one league west of *Old Biloxi*, opposite the anchorage of *Ship Island*, which was afterwards called *New Biloxi*. The transport ship *Dauphine*, commanded by M. Beranger, having arrived, and brought a great number of carpenters and masons, they were put to work on the new fort. Afterwards, the attention of the colonists was also directed to the choice of a location for a city, on the right bank of the *Mississippi*, which M. de Bienville had reported to the new governor as the most favorable location for a great commercial emporium.

In the month of August, 1717, a company was formed in

*The *Commissaire Ordonnateur*, or Intendant Commissary, was an officer who had, in colonial times, an extended authority, civil and military, but subordinate to that of the Governor.

France, under the title of the Western Company of the Indies,* and M. Crozat's charter was, at his request, revoked, as he had
 1717. expended large sums of money without deriving any profits, although the colony had increased in population, and several forts had been erected. In the meantime, however, the Spaniards had advanced from the west to the east side of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*.** By this arrangement, made with the Western Company, the province of Louisiana reverted solely into the hands of the King of France.

*The plan of this company was not unlike that of the British *East Indian Company*, and possessed powers and privileges nearly equal. But the plunder of a savage wilderness could not yield such immense revenues as an ancient, wealthy, and effeminate empire; hence, the reason it failed. The charter had a legal existence of twenty-five years. It was authorized to monopolize the commerce of all the colonies in *New France*; to make treaties with the Indian tribes; to declare and prosecute war against them in defence of the colony; to grant lands, erect forts, levy troops, raise recruits, and to open and work all mines of precious metals which might be discovered. It was permitted, and authorized, to nominate and present men for the office of Governor, and for commanders of troops, and to commission the latter, subject to the King's removal; to remove inferior judges and civil officers; to build and equip ships of war. The King also granted, for the use of the company, all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunition, and vessels, pertaining to the province of Louisiana. Among the obligations imposed upon the company was the stipulation to introduce into Louisiana six thousand white persons, and three thousand negro slaves, and to protect the colonists from Indian outrages. See Letters Patent, granted to this company, First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 49-59.

**In the last two years of Mr. Crozat's administration, the Spaniards had advanced from the mission of "*St. John the Baptiste*," on the east side of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*, to the mission of "*San Antonio de Bexar*," on the west side of that river, and north-east side of *San Antonio River*. Advancing still further, they established a mission at *La Bahia*, thirty miles north of the *Bay of St. Bernard (Matagorda)*, which they designated "*Espiritu Santo*," near the present town of *Goliad*, to establish their claims, by occupation (*primo occupante*), to the province of Texas. They were, however, a few years too late, as the French had already, under M. de la Salle, in 1785, built a fort on *St. Bernard's Bay*, and took possession of the country of Texas, with the usual formalities, which gave a complete title to France. These are the oldest towns in Texas, now one of the largest States in the American Union. Subsequently, however, and during the Spanish dominion over Louisiana, after the treaty of *Fontainebleau*, in 1762, they established a mission of "*San Miguel le Linares*" upon the banks of the *Adaies*, now called *Spanish Lake*; also, several missions among the *Assinai*s (*Cenis*) Indians, about one hundred and forty miles west of *Red River*, in the region designated by them as *New Philippine*. The French kept a jealous eye towards these encroachments, but they were too feeble to resist them—although, for more than thirty years before the arrival of the Spaniards, they kept up a military force, and claimed possession.

CHAPTER XIII.

1718. On the 9th of February, 1718, three ships of the Western Company, the *Dauphine*, the *Vigilant*, and the *Neptune*, commanded by M. M. Dupuis, Arnaudin, and Berranger, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, and brought over M. de Boisbriant the King's lieutenant, and a commission for M. de Bienville, as governor.* This appointment gave general satisfaction, as no

*Sieur Lemoyne de Bienville, the second Royal Governor, was the brother of Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, the first Royal Governor of Louisiana, and was born at *Montreal*, Canada, in 1672. He entered the military service of France at an early age, and distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer in the capture of *Fort Nelson (Bourbon)* by M. d'Iberville, and afterwards in a brilliant naval engagement with the English, in *Hudson's Bay*, in which his brother, with a single-frigate of fifty guns, sunk an English frigate of fifty-five guns, took a frigate of thirty-two guns, and put to flight one of thirty guns, in September, 1697. In this engagement he was severely wounded, and, shortly after, sailed for France, to recruit his health, where he joined the expedition, under the command of M. d'Iberville, to colonize Louisiana.

After a prosperous voyage, the fleet arrived in the Gulf of Mexico in January, 1699. In company with M. M. d'Iberville, de Sauvol, and Father Anastase, he set out a few days after, in two boats, in search of the *Mississippi* river, which they entered, and explored, as far as the *Portage de la Croix*. On their return to the fleet, M. D'Iberville ordered a fort to be built at (*Old*) *Biloxi*, the command of which he gave to M. de Sauvol de la Villantray, a young and accomplished officer, who had accompanied the expedition.

M. de Bienville was appointed second in command, with orders from his brother, on his return to France, to visit the numerous Indian tribes on the rivers, bays, and lakes of Louisiana, and secure their friendship by making them presents.

In August, 1701, M. de Sauvol died of yellow fever, and was succeeded by M. de Bienville. A war broke out, soon after, between France, Spain, and England, which left, for a while, the colony unprotected; and the King ordered the head-quarters of the colony at *Biloxi* to be removed to *Fort Louis de la Mobile*.

The long absence of M. d'Iberville from the Gulf of Mexico, who was ordered to attack the English towns on the Atlantic coast, left the colony unprotected and embarrassed. The government of M. de Bienville, which encouraged the hostility of his enemies, and being without the powerful support of his brother at the Court of France, they pushed their intrigues so persistently, that they caused his removal from office in 1707. His successor (M. de Mueys) did not, however, live to reach the colony, and M. de Bienville continued in command till the transfer of Louisiana to M. Crozat. On the arrival of the new governor (M. de la Motte Cadillac), M. de Bienville was retained as Lieutenant-governor, and was ordered to form settlements on the *Mississippi* river; and, having built a fort at *Natchez*, he returned to *Mobile*.

In 1717, M. de l'Epinay, the new governor, arrived from France, and brought

1718. one better knew the wants and resources of the colony. The first act of his administration was to make arrangements to remove the head-quarters of the colonial government from the sterile lands of *Biloxi*, *Mobile*, and *St. Louis Bays*, to the rich

M. de Bienville the decoration of the Cross of St. Louis, and a royal patent, conceding to him *Horn Island*, on the coast of Louisiana, as a reward for the eminent services he had rendered the colony. In 1718, he succeeded M. de l'Epiny, and laid out *New Orleans* as the future capital of Louisiana. In the meantime, the Spaniards had quietly advanced from Mexico to the east side of the *Rio Grande*, and took possession of the country now known as the State of Texas. It was impossible for him to check this encroachment of the Spaniards, in consequence of the feeble condition of the colony, till the winter of 1719-20, when he dispatched M. de la Harpe to build a fort at *Natchitoches*. On peace being restored, M. de Bienville, in 1722, removed his head-quarters to *New Orleans*, and emigrants from France and Germany began to arrive in great numbers. The Indians, however, began to be very troublesome, and threatened the colonists with extermination. The forts on the *Yazoo* and *Mississippi* rivers were attacked in large force, and so complete was the massacre, that but few of the colonists reached *New Orleans*.

The clamor of the colonists was so great against M. de Bienville, that his enemies succeeded in having him recalled to France. He was succeeded by M. Perier, who prosecuted the war against the Indians until they were subdued. But it involved the Western Company in an enormous debt, which following so closely upon the failure of the financial schemes of John Law, that they surrendered their charter to the Crown, which was finally accepted in 1732; and the King, seeing the precarious situation of Louisiana, reappointed M. de Bienville, who was then in France, Governor, and early in the autumn of 1734, he arrived in *New Orleans*, where he was received with acclamations of joy.

He immediately organized an army to punish the Chickasaws, and attacked them in their strongholds, but was repulsed, with considerable loss. He returned to *New Orleans*, and, in the spring of 1737, led another expedition against them, in which he was more successful. They sued for peace, agreeing to drive out the English traders from among them. This campaign closed his military and civil career in Louisiana. He returned to France under a cloud of censure from his government, although he had faithfully served his country, in Louisiana, for more than forty years. In the twenty-five years he resided in France, he never, however, for a moment lost sight of the interests of the colony. He sympathized with her misfortunes, and rejoiced in her prosperity; and, when the French King ceded Louisiana to Spain, in 1762, he did not cease to implore his Majesty, with tears in his eyes, not to place his subjects in the hands of the tyrannical Spaniards.

M. de Bienville died in Paris, on the 7th of March, 1767, and was buried with military honors in the cemetery of *Montmartre*. And, although more than a century and a half has elapsed since he founded the city of *New Orleans*, no monument, not even of the smallest dimension, has yet been erected to his memory, nor portrait placed in the capitol of that gallant State, to remind the present and future generations of one of the bravest, best, and purest men that ever governed Louisiana.

country bordering on the *Mississippi*, the site for which he had selected, and sent workmen and laborers there the year before, to lay the foundation of the future capital of Louisiana. They removed the trees and bushes, traced the streets and squares, and dug drains around each, to carry off the waste water from the overflowings of the river in high water; and also threw up an embankment in front and around the city, to protect it from inundation. Afterwards, agreeably to instructions from the Western Company, M. de Bienville sent a detachment of fifty soldiers, under command of his brother, M. de Chateaugue, to take possession of *St. Joseph's Bay*, and to construct a fort there, which he left in command of M. de Gousy, and, afterwards, set out to visit the place, on the banks of the *Mississippi*, which he had selected for his head-quarters, which he named *New Orleans*. The *Dauphine*, *Vigilant*, and *Neptune*, returned to France, and, on the 6th of March, the ships *Duchess de Naoilles*, and the *Marin*, commanded by M. M. de la Salle and Japy, arrived at *Ship Island*, and brought over five hundred persons to establish themselves on the concessions. The first of those concessions (grants of land) was that of M. Paris du Vernay, under the direction of M. Dubuisson, who brought over with him his brother, two sisters, and twenty-five persons. This concession was located twenty-eight leagues above *New Orleans*, on the site of the old *Baya-Ogoulas* village. Besides the cultivation of the land, the raising of silk-worms and manufacture of silk was to be established; to accomplish which, they brought over a large number of mulberry trees.

The next concession was that of M. de Mueys, which was placed under the direction of his two nephews, M. M. de la Loire des Ursins, and two other persons, named Chastan and Roue, together with eighty laborers and servants, and located on the site of the old *Tensas* village. Messieurs Brossart Brothers, merchants of the city of *Lyons*, came over to locate a settlement among the *Natchitoches*, on *Red River*, called the *St. Jerome*, or *Natchitoches River*. M. Benard de la Harpe, of *St. Malo*, also came over, with twenty-five persons, to settle in the village of the *Cadodaguious*, one hundred leagues above *Natchitoches*. M. de la Houssaye, a gentleman of *Picardy*, France, with fifteen persons, also came over to settle on a concession, near the great village of the *Natchez*, (twelve miles east of the present city of that name), on a little river (*St. Catherine's Creek*), which

now belongs to the author of these annals, who purchased it of them. M. de Chantous, and M. M. le Page, du Pratz, and Legras, also brought over eight persons each, to settle on the site of the old *Choupitoulas* village above *New Orleans*, on the same side of the river.

M. de Boisbriant, who arrived in the *Duchess de Noailles*, brought over commissions from his Majesty, conferring on M. Pailloux the rank of major, and to Diron, the brother of M. d'Artaguet, the rank of captain of a company of troops destined for the Illinois, and, before his departure, M. de Boisbriant was made a Knight of the Order of St. Louis, and Governor of Illinois. In the beginning of October, M. de Boisbriant set out, with several officers, to go to the *Illinois*. At the same time, M. de La Harpe embarked, with fifty men, for his concession on *Red River*, with orders to establish a post there, and ascertain the number of Indian tribes in the country. M. Barnaval went up with him as far as *Natchez*, to take the place of M. Blondel, who had been ordered to *Natchitoches* to relieve M. de Tissenet, the latter being ordered to join M. de Boisbriant at the *Illinois*. M. de la Loire accompanied them as director of the bureau and stores of the company.

1718. At the same time, M. de Bienville sent M. de la Boulaye, lieutenant, with thirty men, to establish a fort among the *Yasous*. Upon his arrival there, he selected an elevated situation, about four leagues from the mouth of that river, on the right hand side ascending, and only a short distance from their village, where he built a fort. Some days after the departure of M. Pierre Dugne de Boisbriant for the *Illinois*, the two ships, the *Duchess de Noailles* and *Marin*, returned to France, taking with them M. M. de l'Épinay and d'Ortus.

M. de Bienville received a letter from M. Dubuisson, who was in charge of the concession of M. Paris du Vernay, established at the village of the *Bayagoulas*, that there was no safety upon the concession, so long as the French were at war with the *Chetimaches*. Upon this information, M. de Bienville sent the author of the annals of Louisiana among the *Chetimaches* to negotiate a peace. Although this commission was a perilous one, I, nevertheless, accepted it, because I spoke their language very well, and was acquainted with their chiefs. I did not go

directly to their village but went to the *Oumas* first, where I expected to meet some of the *Chetimaches*, who often came there. Nor was I disappointed in my conjectures, for I met three there, and informed them that I had instructions from Governor de Bienville to make a treaty of peace with them. They appeared delighted with this information, because, during their war with the French, they were treated as enemies by all the other nations, who every day sent out parties against him, and destroyed them in great numbers. They did not hesitate to follow me to the
 1718. concession of M. Paris du Vernay, whither I conducted them, about seven leagues distant. When we arrived there, M. Dubuisson gave them some presents for their chief, and supplied them with provisions for their journey, with orders to return within ten days, at the same time giving them a bundle of sticks to count the nights, whilst we counted the days.

They did not fail to return at the time agreed on, but they remained upon the banks of their river, which is five leagues from the concession. Only three envoys came to the plantation, and reported that the principal chief, with his wife and forty *Chetimaches*, were waiting to consult with me at that place. I hesitated a little about going there alone; but, seeing that no one would accompany me, I determined upon my course, and set off with the three envoys. As soon as I arrived upon the borders of their river, and was perceived by them, they set up a most frightful yelling. I then began to suspect treason, and that my last hours had come. But this yelling proved to be a mark of joy; for the *Grand Chief* gave me a friendly reception, assuring me that it afforded him great pleasure to see me, and that he and all his nation were sincerely desirous to make a lasting peace with the French. I told him, to arrive at that, it would be necessary to go to *New Orleans*, and chant the *calumet* of peace to the governor, to which they gave their consent. We stopped at the plantation of M. Dubuisson for a supply of provisions, and remained here all night, and, next morning, we set off before daylight, and descended the river to *New Orleans*, where he remained eight days, waiting for a reply
 1718. from M. de Bienville, who was absent, and sent word to M. Pailloux to conclude a peace with them, on the following terms:—

1st. That we should not restore the slaves which we had taken during the war; but they should deliver up all the French

whom they had captured, or who might be found in their villages.

2d. That they should abandon the villages where they now reside, and establish themselves upon the *Mississippi* river, in a place designated for them, one league above the concession of M. Paris du Vernay.

They accepted these terms, which they faithfully fulfilled; and, in fifteen days after, they came with their families, cattle, and effects, to the place designated for them. Before leaving the city, M. Pailloux distributed among them the presents set apart by M. de Bienville, with which they were highly pleased.

This arrangement with the *Chetimaches* was the cause of other changes being made among the Indian tribes, who came afterwards to settle on the banks of the *Mississippi*. Among the first were the *Chaouachas*, who dwelt about twenty leagues from the river, who came and established themselves three leagues above *New Orleans*, on the right bank ascending. The *Colapissas*, who inhabited the northern shore of *Lake Pontchartrain*, also crossed over to the banks of the *Mississippi*, and settled thirteen leagues above *New Orleans*. Those nations are very industrious, and have been of great service to our colonists.

CHAPTER XIV.

1719. On the 17th of March, 1719, the ship of war, *le Couste de Toulouse*, arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with one hundred passengers, among whom was M. de Larchebault, director-general. On the 24th, M. de St. Denis arrived from Mexico, where he went, two years before, to recover his merchandize, which had been seized by Don Senor Raimond, a captain in the service of the Viceroy of Mexico. The Marquis of Vallero, who had succeeded the Duke de Linarez, received him courteously, and promised they should be restored, which was done; but, soon after, Don Martin d'Alacorne, Captain-General of the province of *Lastekas* (Texas), reported that he had passed through the province without reporting himself: that the merchandize did not belong to him, and that he was a suspicious character. The Viceroy ordered him, therefore, to be immediately arrested, and confined in prison, until some of his wife's relations hearing of it, assisted him to make his escape from Mexico.

1719. On the 19th of April, the ships *Marcehal de Villars*, *Count de Toulouse*, and the *Phillip*, under the command of M. de Serigny, the brother of M. de Bienville, arrived at *Dauphine Island*. They brought over M. M. Villardeau, le Gac, and l'Archembault, who succeeded M. de Rageon, as directors, and one hundred and thirty colonists. Among the passengers were M. de Montplaisir, who came, with thirty persons, to establish a tobacco manufactory, and an Irish gentleman, who brought with him sixty men, to establish a concession on the *Ouachita River*, eight leagues above its mouth, in ascending from *Red River*, called the *St. Jerome*, or *Natchitoches*. M. Cartier de Beaune, who had received the appointment of procureur-general to the colony, brought with him all his family, and thirty persons, to make a settlement on *Bayou Choupic* (*St. John's*), near the city of *New Orleans*. M. M. Pellerin and Bellecourt also came with a number of persons to make a settlement near the village of the *Natchez*, on the banks of the little river (*St. Catherine's*) which falls into the *Mississippi*. M. de Serigny brought over on his ship a large number of soldiers and workmen, with

two hundred and fifty negroes,* who were sent to *Dauphine Island*, and distributed among the concessions; also the news 1719. that war had been declared by France, on the 9th of January, 1719, on the refusal of the King of Spain to sign the triple alliance. M. de Bienville immediately called a council of war, who agreed to make an attack on *Pensacola*, and notified the colonists to hold themselves in readiness for the expedition, and also sent messengers to all the Indians around *Mobile*. As soon as these orders were carried out, the Governor, and his brother, M. de Chateague, repaired to *Mobile*, placed themselves at the head of eight hundred Frenchmen and Indians, and marched, by land, to *Pensacola*, while M. de Serigny, with four ships, sailed for *Pensacola*, and invested it on the 14th of May. The Spaniards made but a slight resistance, and soon surrendered their fort on conditions, that all their arms, and munitions of war, cannon, balls, powder, muskets, and provisions, should remain in the fort.** The governor then returned to *Mobile*, and left

*This was the first large importation of Africans made into Louisiana; but, for several years afterwards, the Western Company continued to send from three to five hundred annually, to be distributed among the concessions, as they were the only labor that could stand the heat of the climate. It had been successfully employed by the English in *Carolina* and the West India Islands, in the cultivation of sugar, rice, and cotton. In order to regulate the treatment of slaves among the planters, the Governor (Bienville) drew up a code of laws, especially in reference to them, which he promulgated in 1724. See "Black Code," published in First Series "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. III, pp. 89-94.

**The news of the surrender of *Pensacola* created a great sensation in Spain and Mexico. The Viceroy immediately dispatched a squadron of twelve ships of war, carrying eight hundred and fifty men, under the command of Don Alphonso Carrascosa, to invest the town; and, at sight of the Spanish fleet entering the harbor, a part of the garrison deserted, which compelled the commander to surrender without firing a gun. After this victory, the Viceroy of Mexico (the Marquis of Vallero), resolved to drive the French out of Louisiana, and dispatched a fleet, under the command of Don Carrascosa to attack *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*, but, finding the brave M. de Serigny, who commanded the forts and troops on that island, prepared to receive his attack, after a few days' bombardment, abandoned the enterprise, and returned to *Pensacola*, and M. de Bienville again invested *Pensacola* by land, and the brave Count de Champmeslin, with his fleet, attacked it by sea. The French frigates poured a brisk cannonade into the Spanish fleet, and, in a short time, they surrendered. M. de Bienville, in the meantime, attacked the town, captured it, and took twelve hundred men prisoners of war, dismantled the fortifications, and returned to *Mobile*. The contest was now over. Peace was declared on the 17th of February, 1720, and the contending parties laid down their arms in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, and *Pensacola* again became a part of the Spanish possession in North America.

1719. M. de Chateaugue in command, with three hundred Frenchmen. The Indian allies were sent home with presents, and M. M. de Bienville and Serigny sailed back in the *Marechal de Villars*, commanded by the Chevalier de Grieuze, with the rest of the troops, in transports, to *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*. The war continued to rage between France and Spain, and the province in Louisiana became involved in hostilities with the settlements of the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico. M. de Chateaugue held possession of *Pensacola* but a short time, when a powerful Spanish armament appeared before the city, and compelled him to surrender. They afterwards blockaded *Dauphine Island* with a large squadron, and made an attempt to land, but M. de Bienville had foreseen this event, and provided against it, by erecting batteries, and sending for his Indian allies to come to his assistance. M. de St. Denis being at Biloxi, brought over a great number, and many also came from the concessions on the Mississippi river, so that the Spaniards, during the twelve consecutive days they made an attempt to land on the island, were repulsed. A Spanish gun-boat landed at a place in Mobile Bay, called *Miragouin*, where they plundered a quantity of merchandize, but, returning a second time to the place, a party of *Mobile* Indians attacked them and slew thirty of the Spaniards, and took seventeen prisoners, whom they took to *Mobile* and clubbed to death, and threw their bodies into the bay. The Spaniards, now finding their enterprise unsuccessful, returned to *Pensacola*. On the 6th of June, two ships, the *Duke of Maine*, and *Aurora*, arrived at *Ship Island*, from the coast of Guinea, with five hundred negroes, who were sold to the concessionaires. On 1719. the 1st of September, the King's squadron, of four ships of the line, commanded by M. de Champmeslin, consisting of the *Hercules* of sixty guns, the *Mars* of Fifty-six guns, the *Triton* of fifty-four guns, and the *Union* of forty-eight guns, besides, a smaller vessel arrived in the roads, off *Dauphine Island*, which brought eight hundred and thirty men and officers to remain in Louisiana. He immediately notified M. de Serigny, who commanded the forces on the island, to assemble his troops. On the 2d, M. M. de Serigny, de Villarceau, and le Gac, repaired on board the admiral's ship, and, after several conferences, it was agreed to attack *Pensacola* before the Spanish squadron from *Vera Cruz* could reach there.

M. de Serigny immediately advised Governor Bienville of

the plan of the French admiral to attack that city, and to assemble his troops, and march by land to assist in the siege. On the 15th, the squadron set sail for *Pensacola*, and, on the same day, the governor set out for *Perdido Bay*, in a shallop, where four or five hundred Indians had assembled, under the command of M. de St. Denis, who took up their march on the arrival of the governor. On the next day, they invested the fort at *Pensacola*, and, at the same time, M. de Champmeslin entered the port. The forts kept up a brisk firing, but when he arrived before the large fort, it offered no resistance, and surrendered. The commander of the Spanish squadron, soon after, went on board the admiral's ship, and surrendered his sword, which was courteously returned him; but the Spanish Governor of Matamoras, who went on board, was not so courteously treated. He was immediately disarmed by a sailor, for
1719. which he was reprimanded by the French commander. M. de Champmeslin finding but fifteen days' provisions in the place, immediately shipped the Spanish prisoners to *Havana*, so as to economize the provisions, and to recompense the Indians for their services, he permitted them to plunder the two forts, after which, they were totally dismantled. M. de St. Denis gave an entertainment to the admiral and officers of the French squadron, before whom he made the Indians exhibit their war dances. He addressed them in their own language and exhorted them to remain faithful to the French. After this, M. de Champmeslin distributed among them numerous presents, with which they were delighted. M. M. de Bienville and de St. Denis returned thanks to their Indian allies, and, afterwards, set out for *Mobile* and *Dauphine Island*. As the forts at *Pensacola* were now demolished, and it was only a frontier post, they only left a sergeant's guard there, to give notice of the approach of vessels from sea. On the 16th, M. de Champmeslin ordered his squadron to get ready to sail, and on the 27th, after firing a salute, they put to sea. On the next day, they anchored off *Dauphine Island*, and, on the 29th, the squadron set sail for France, followed by the *Marechal de Villars*, and the *Comte de Toulouse*. A few days after, the transport ship *Maria* arrived at *Dauphine Island*, with Philip Francis Renault, son of Philip Renault, of *Consobre*, France, and two hundred and fifty miners, together with several companies of soldiers, ammunition, and merchandize, for the colony. The captain also brought letters to M. de Bienville,
1719. with instructions to order a number of flat-bottomed boats to

be built, to convey a large number of persons to the mines in the *Illinois*, as soon as they arrived.

In October, the ship *Two Brothers*, commanded by Sieur Freret, arrived at *Ship Island*, with a number of Germans, loaded with every kind of merchandize and implements of agriculture, which were removed to *New Biloxi*. This was the first instalment of twelve thousand Germans purchased by the Western Company, from one of the princes of Germany, to colonize Louisiana. By this ship, M. de Chateaugue received the appointment of lieutenant of the King, M. Diron d'Artaguet, inspector-general, and M. Pailloux, Major-general. They also received the news that the Eastern and Western Companies were united in one, by an edict, dated 12th of May, 1719. M. d'Artaguet was ordered, by the governor, to remove the colony from *Dauphine Island*, and *New Biloxi*, to the *Mississippi*, as it was impossible to improve the sterile lands of the coast. On the 22d of November, M. du Tissenet wrote M. de Bienville a letter from *Caskaskias*, giving an account of his expedition to the villages of the *Osages* and the *Panis* (*Pawnees*). He described the country as beautiful and well timbered, and that the two rivers from the west, the *Osage* and *Blue Rivers*, emptied into the *Missouri*. In travelling west, he crossed a great many 1719. streams that fell into the *Missouri*. The *Osages** are stout,

*From the earliest times, the principal part of the great *Osage* nation have lived on the *Osage River*, and were well known to the French. They are now divided into the *Great* and *Little Osage* nation. Their primitive name is *Bar-har-cha*, and are also known as the *Wa-wa-ha*, *Nuz-zau*, or *Ous*, about the *Arkansas* and *Osage Rivers*. The *Little Osage* nation formerly resided on the south-west side of the *Missouri River*, near the mouth of *Grand River*, but, being reduced by continual wars, they were compelled to seek protection in the *Great Osage* nation, with whom they now reside. They are a remarkably tall and manly-looking race, erect and well proportioned. Their complexion is between an olive and copper color, with noses large and aquiline. They are fond of dress, wear ornaments in their ears and on their arms, and gracefully cover their shoulders with a buffalo robe, and wear moccasins and leggins. They are next to the *Sioux* in population, and are a remarkably brave people. A MS. vocabulary of their language, by Dr. Murray, is deposited in the American Philosophical Society, *Philadelphia*. Victor Texier has published a glossary of their language in his "*Voyage aux Prairies Osage en Louisiane et Missouri*," Paris, 1844; "*Reise des Prinzen Maximilian zu Wiede in Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 637; J. S. Vater's "*Analekten, der Sprachenkunde*," pp. 53-62; Balbi's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41; "*Archaeologia Americana*," Vol. II, pp. 305-367; Tonty's "*Memoir Addressed to the French Government*," "*Historical Collections of Louisiana*," Vol. I, pp. 52-80.

well made, and great warriors, and lead mines are abundant in their country. The distance from the *Osage* villages in the *Panis* (*Pawnees*)* villages in more than forty leagues, in a north-west direction, and he had to pass over prairies filled with the buffalo; and, in fifteen days from thence, he reached 1719. the *Padoucas*,*** also a brave and warlike nation. Here M. du

*The *Panis* (*Pawnees*), formerly a numerous and warlike nation, now reside on the *Platte*, *Kansas*, and *Arkansas* rivers. They were divided into three bands, and carried on a brisk trade in buffalo robes with the French and Spaniards. They pass most of their time on the prairies in hunting buffalo. See Say's *Vocabulary*, p. 42; Gallatin's *Synopsis*, in "*Archaeologia Americana*," Vol. II, p. 305; "*Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*," Vol. II; Balbi's "*Atlas Ethnographique*," Tab. 41, "*Reise des Prinzen Maximilian zu W'eide*," Vol. II, pp. 630-632; "*Historical Collections of Louisiana*," First Series, Vol. III, pp. 59-62.

***The *Padouca* Indians, in the early settlement of New Mexico, were a powerful and numerous nation, but had almost disappeared when the French came to Louisiana. They laid claim to a large tract of country (according to De l'Isle's map of 1712, drawn up from original memoirs and narratives of early explorers in the country east of the *Rio Bravo del Norte*) now included in Texas and New Mexico. They lived in their villages, on the head-waters of the *Arkansas*, *Red River*, and the *Colorado*, and could, at that time, bring into the field upwards of two thousand mounted men. They were a formidable enemy to De Soto and Moscoso, in attempting to reach the *Rio Bravo del Norte*. They seem to have given their name to one of the branches of the *Missouri*, which is still called the *Padouca* fork, and to a flourishing town on the *Ohio* river, below the mouth of the *Tennessee*. They were the Arabs of the plains, and being constantly at war with other nations, they became very much reduced in numbers. Most of them removed to the upper part of the river *Platte*, where they had but little intercourse with other tribes. They afterwards divided into small bands, which took the names of the subdivisions of the *Padouca* nation, and are now known only under the appellation of *Wetepahotoes*, *Kiawas*, and *Kattekas*, who still inhabit the country over which the *Padoucas* wandered. Previous to the visits of the French among them, they had no fire-arms, but fought on horseback, with shields, and bows, and arrows. They visited the Spanish mining settlements in New Mexico, and on the *Rio Grande*, and exchanged their buffalo robes and peltries for gold and silver coin, of which they knew the use, and also for gold and silver ornaments for their arms and necks, to which they were appended with silver chains. They had a great attachment for the French, with whom they made several treaties, and preferred them to the Spanish. They exhibited nothing barbarous, or cruel, in their disposition, but were kind and magnanimous. Their religion, manners, and customs, were similar to the other tribes of the west. They believed in a *Great Spirit*, and future state of reward and punishment. When a *Padouca* chief died, he was buried in a mound, or on the summit of a high hill, in a sitting posture, with a buffalo robe thrown over him. After death, the relatives and friends of the chief would assemble, every morning and evening, to howl and lament his

Tissenet took possession of the country, and erected a column, with the arms of the King placed upon it, 27th of September, 1719.

loss, and the women would crop their hair, as a token of their mourning. They believed that, after death, they would go to the spirit world, where there was plenty of buffalo, and where they would be supremely happy. No vocabulary exists of this once-powerful nation. A few words only have been noted by writers of Indian languages. See B. Smith Barton's "Comparative Vocabularies;" T. Say's "Vocabularies of Indian Languages;" Balbi's "*Atlas Ethnographique*;" J. S. Vater's "*Analekten der Sprachenkunde*," Leipzig, 1821; "Mithridates," Vol. III, p. 304

CHAPTER XV.

1720. After peace had been concluded between France and Spain, there arrived at *Ship Island*, in February, 1720, over five hundred emigrants, who were distributed among the concessions, with great promises of wealth held out to them, to induce further emigration. M. Hubert, the director-general of the province, now abandoned his residence near *New Orleans*, and went, with all his family, and six laborers and domestics, whom he had brought with him from France, to locate himself on land at the *Natchez*. On his arrival there, he, and all his family, took lodgings with M. de la Loire des Ursins, director of the company. The next day, he loaded one of his largest batteaux with merchandize and ammunition, and dispatched it to M. Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant at the *Illinois*. After he had rested himself, he visited the lands on the borders of the little *Natchez River* (*St. Catherine's*), where he located his concession, and erected a large dwelling-house. The land was about a league from *Fort Rosalie*, and extended into the prairies, which he ploughed up, and sowed with French wheat. He afterwards erected a grist-mill, a forge, and machine shops, to manufacture arms and agricultural implements. He allowed M. de Montplaisir to locate himself also on land about a league from his own, for the purpose of planting tobacco, which succeeded admirably after the first year. On their route up the river, they met with M. de la Harpe who was descending the *Mississippi*, from the *Cadodquioux*, on *Red River*, where he had been to establish his concession. He had previously visited this country, in 1719, and built a fort on the right bank of *Red River* (*Natchitoches*), in latitude $33^{\circ} 55'$, as a sign of the jurisdiction of France, which he named *Fort St. Louis de Carlorette*. Having now nothing to fear from the Spaniards, he believed it to be to the interest of the Western Company, to explore the country which had been pointed out to him, to the west and southwest, and, by this means to effect an entrance, by treating with the Indians, into New Mexico. He had visited the principal chiefs of the *Heitanis* (southern *Comanches*), *Tankaways*, *Tachies*, and *Assinais*,* who
- 1720.

*These tribes still roam over the prairies of Texas to this day. With the exception of the *Dacoulas* or *Sioux*, the *Comanches* are the most numerous and troublesome in that State. They are divided into three grand divisions, or tribes

still lived in a state of nature, and by hunting, used the buffalo-skin for a covering. In general, he found them much more athletic and better formed than those tribes living on the *Mississippi* river.

and are designated as the *Tankaways*, *Yamparacks*, and *Comanches*, and these are again divided into smaller bands. The division known as the "*Southern Comanches*," permanently reside in Texas, and live by hunting and plunder. Their range extends from the Red River to the Colorado. They number about fifteen hundred warriors, and are constantly in the saddle. They never remain in the same place more than a few days, but follow the buffalo. They generally kill them with a spear, which they throw with unerring aim. They are good horsemen, and select them, for their fleetness, from droves of wild horses, which cover the plains. They have tents made of neatly-dressed buffalo-skins, fashioned in the form of a cone, sufficiently large to accommodate fifty or sixty persons. When they stop, they pitch them in exact order, so as to form squares and streets, which have the appearance of a town.

Their native language, in sound, differs from the language of any other nation, and no one can easily learn to speak it. They have also a language of signs, by which they converse among themselves. They are also called *Hietans*, *Jetans*, and *Padoucas*. A *Comanche* vocabulary has been collected by the Hon. J. R. Bartlett, also by J. Chisholm, a *Cherokee*, and by R. S. Neighbors. Colonel Marcy also collected a vocabulary in his expedition to the *Red River* country. Dr. H. Berghaus' "*Über die Verwandtschaft der Schoschonen, Komantschen, and Apachen in: Physikalischer Atlas; Geographisches Fahr buch*," 1851.

CHAPTER XVI.

1721. On the 3d of January, 1721, the ships *La Girdone* and *La Volage* arrived at *Ship Island* with about three hundred persons for the concessions of M. le Blanc and Count Belleville, on the *Yazoo River*, and Mme. Mexieres, on the *Bay of St. Louis*, and Mme. Chaumont, on *Pascagoula Bay*. On the 5th, the ship *La Baleine* also arrived with a number of passengers, and eighty young women, who were sent over at the request of the directors, who thought it was impossible to make a solid establishment without them. They were selected by the bishop from one of the public institutions of *Paris*, and had been brought up and educated there from their childhood. They were placed by him under the charge of three nuns — Sisters Gertrude, Louise, and Bergere. Each one was provided with a marriage outfit, and was not to marry without the consent of Sister Gertrude. In a short time after their arrival, they were disposed of to good advantage, with a request from the colonists, that the company would continue their favors. On the 7th, the ship *Seine* arrived, with sixty persons, for the concession of the Marquis d'Ancenis, at the *Houmas*. A few days after, the governor dispatched M. de la Harpe, in an armed vessel, to the river *Madeline*, with soldiers, workmen, merchandize, and provisions, to make a settlement, and build a fort on that river.* On arriving there, he found a large body of natives entrenched on its banks and opposed to his landing, although he assured them, through an interpreter, that he came there to be their friend. They replied, that they were satisfied with their condition, and did not wish to make any alliance. At length, he prevailed upon some of them to go with him to *Biloxi*, to see the governor, who made them some presents, and afterwards returned to their homes.

On the 3d of February, the frigate *La Mutine*, commanded by the Sieur de Martonne, arrived at *Ship Island*, with three hundred and forty-seven Swiss troops, who were distributed

*Probably the *Sabine*, which now divides the States of Texas and Louisiana. See "*Carte de la Louisiane, 1712, dresse sur un grand nombre de Memoire par Guillaume de l'Isle de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*," in "Historical Collections of Louisiana," Vol. II. *Philadelphia*, 1850.

among the different posts.* By this ship, M. de Bienville received a letter, which had been written by the Western Company, on the 31st of October, 1720, informing him that "It was with regret that they had heard of a disagreement between him and the director-general of the company, and that the King believed 1721. him to be in fault. It was, however, contemplated to appoint another director, which they hoped would prevent any future disagreement in regard to the government of the province." M. le Blanc, minister-of-war, wrote him, also, at the same time, another letter of the same purport, which so chagrined him, that he immediately wrote, in reply, that the condition of the affairs of the province was not his fault, but he hoped the new appointment of a director would make everything work better. The governor also received news from France of the failure of the great financier and banker, John Law, the comptroller-general of finances of France, who had left the kingdom.*

*At this period, Louisiana was divided into nine civil and military posts, or districts, viz.: *Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamons, Natchez, Yayos, Natchitoches, New Orleans, Arkansas, and Illinois*, over which a commander and a judge was appointed, and three ecclesiastical districts. The first was entrusted to the Capuchins, and extended from the mouth of the *Mississippi* to the *Illinois*; the second, the Carmelites, whose jurisdiction extended from *Mobile* to the *Alibamons*; and the third, to the Jesuits, whose jurisdiction extended over the immense territory washed by the *Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi*, and its tributaries.

*The failure of Law's financial scheme fell heavily upon Louisiana. The rapid expansion of the circulating medium throughout the province during the first three years of his banking operations in France, and the consequent sudden prostration of all business in Louisiana, brought ruin upon the province, and checked its advancement. The remote settlements in upper and lower Louisiana were, in a great measure, deserted by the starving colonists, and, from time to time, they returned to France, or made settlements nearer *New Orleans*. The extensive grant of M. Law on the *Arkansas River*, principally settled by Germans, was soon deserted; and, to induce them not to leave the province, land was allotted to them on both sides of the *Mississippi* above *New Orleans*, which, to this day, is known as the *German Coast* of Louisiana. Concerning the *modus operandi* of Law's celebrated financial system, which brought ruin on France as well as Louisiana, as a whole, consult the works of Law; Dotot's "*Reflexions politiques sur les finance et le commerce. Histoire du Systeme des Finances en 1719-1720*;" Louis Blanc's "*Histoire de la Revolution francaise*," Vol. I, Book II, Chap. VII, which is an eloquent panegyric on the system and its author; A Thiers' (the French historian) *Memoir of Law and the Mississippi Bubble*, which is onesided and partial; Forbannais' "*Recherches et considerations sur les finances des France*."

On the 14th of February, the frigate *Marechal d'Estrees* arrived at *Ship Island*, with one hundred and seventy-five negro men, women, and children, from Africa, who were landed at 1721. *Biloxi*, and afterwards distributed among the concessions and inhabitants at *New Orleans*. On the 17th, the frigate *l'Africaine*, and, on the 23d, the frigate *Le Duc de Maine* arrived, with over six hundred negroes, which were distributed among the concessionaires (grantees), and sent up the *Mississippi* river to the concessions. M. de Pauger, the engineer, who had returned from the mouth of the *Mississippi* river, reported that he had found a bar of soft mud across one of its mouths, which was formed by the meeting of the tide of the sea and current of the river, which is here very sluggish, and proposed to establish a fort on the island,* at the Belize, where large ships could anchor in safety.

M. Hubert, desiring to resign his office and return to France, sold his concession (grant) of land at the *Natches* to M. Dumanoir, who purchased it for M. Colis, and retained the workmen upon it on the same terms paid by M. Hubert. On the 24th of May, M. Dugue de Boisbriant, commandant at the *Illinois*, wrote to M. de Bienville, that he had been informed that three hundred Spaniards had left *Santa Fe*, New Mexico, for the purpose of driving the French out of Louisiana, but they were attacked by the *Osage* and *Panis* Indians, and driven back to *Santa Fe*. On the 25th, the ships *La Baleine*, *La Girdone*, *Le Duc de Maine*, and *l'Africaine*, sailed for France. A number of passengers returned to France on the *Baleine*, among whom was Sister Gertrude, who was so much pleased with 1721. finding husbands for so many young women, that she promised those who could not obtain a wife, to return soon again on the

*This island was called *Toulouse*, on which M. de Bienville afterwards ordered a fort to be built, which is now about three miles from the mouth of the *Mississippi*, showing, in the last hundred and fifty years, a gradual encroachment of land upon the Gulf of Mexico.

same mission.*

On the 15th of July, the frigate *La Venus*, commanded by M. M. Dumoulen, arrived at *Ship Island*, with M. Duvergier, director-general, M. de la Harpe, and M. de la Grave, director of the concessions of M. le Marquis de Meziers. She also brought the Cross of St. Louis for M. M. de Chateague and de Boisbriant.

It was, at this period, the author of these annals was attacked with inflammation of the eyes, and partially lost his sight, and, having tried every means to effect a cure, he was advised by the governor-general of the province, M. de Bienville, to go to France for medical treatment. He, accordingly, took his passage on board the ship *Marechal d'Estrees*, and sailed for France on the 6th of October, 1721.**

1721. To all those who read these "Annals," it will appear that God, in his wisdom, had designed Louisiana for the French, to show forth the power of the holy Catholic religion, and to establish a French empire in America, where the glory of his most Christian Majesty might be displayed. God was wearied with the exhibition of the unheard-of cruelties of the natives, which they inflicted on each other in their wars, and he wished to place Christian rulers over them to arrest their wickedness. Since,

*We do not hear of Sister Gertrude again; but an agreement was subsequently entered into with the Ursuline nuns of *Paris*, and the Company of the Indies, in 1727, to come to *New Orleans*, to reside permanently, for a different purpose. They agreed to take charge of the Charity Hospital, and establish a convent for the instruction of females. This ancient building was occupied for more than a century, when a more splendid and commodious convent was erected, three miles below the city, on the bank of the river, where every branch of female education is well taught. See First Series "Historical Collections," Vol. III, pp. 79-83.

**As we hear no more of M. Penicaut after he arrived in France, it is probable that he died there under medical treatment. The "Annals of Louisiana," which he left behind in manuscript, found its way into the King's library, and is an important record of what took place in that country for more than twenty years after the arrival of the expedition of d'Iberville. Charlevoix refers to it in his travels in New France as a work of merit, and affording him important information which he could not obtain elsewhere.

therefore, we cannot but recognize the hand of God in what he has done in Louisiana, we will now close these "Annals" in the language of the prophet:—

"BLESSED BE THE NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD WHO ALONE HAS DONE ALL THESE WONDERFUL WORKS; MAY HIS NAME BE PRAISED FOR EVER AND EVER; AND MAY THE WHOLE EARTH BE FILLED WITH HIS GLORY."

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN, Editor

EMMETT KILPATRICK, Co-Editor



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May 30, 1943

DEAR ALABAMA

VOICE PART MODERATO

Words by R.K.Hood
Music by M.H.Nichols



DEAR ALABAMA, HOME AND SOVEREIGN LAND, RESPLENDENT



BEAUTY, BLESSED BY HEAVEN'S HAND,



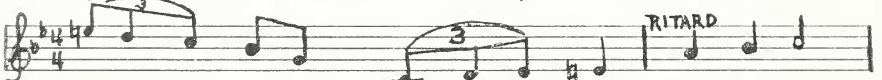
THY CHARTERED RIVER FLOWS FROM AGE TO AGE, THY



STATEHOOD REIGNS IN FREEDOM'S CAUSE AND HERITAGE.



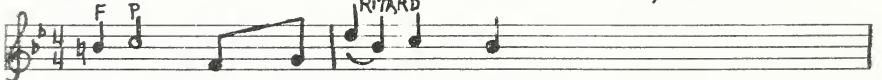
THY TRUST IN GOD AND HOPE FOR MAN PROCLAIM



THY LIFE AND PURPOSE, WORK AND PROGRESS, LOVE AND FAME.



DEAR ALABAMA, HOME AND SOVEREIGN LAND, RESPLENDENT



BEAUTY, BLESSED BY HEAVEN'S HAND.

DEAR ALABAMA

1.

Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand,
Thy chartered river flows from age to age,
Thy statehood reigns in Freedom's Cause and heritage.
Thy trust in God and hope for Man proclaim
Thy life and purpose, work and progress, love and fame.
Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand.

2.

Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand,
Thy crowned hills in southern Freedom rest,
Thy counsel seeks thy people and their holy quest.
Thy trust in God and hope for Man proclaim
Thy guiding wisdom, truth and justice, peace and name.
Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand.

3.

Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand,
Thy skies triumphant shield thy Liberty,
Thy classic, noble heart inspires fidelity.
Thy trust in God and hope for Man proclaim
Thy cherished glory, pride and honour, will and aim.
Dear Alabama,
Home and Sovereign Land,
Resplendent beauty,
Blessed by Heaven's Hand.

—Words by Robert Kennedy Hood, 1943

—Music by Mae Herrick-Nichols, 1943

EDITORIAL

The Winter Issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is made up of a collection of articles on various subjects that reflect numerous phases of the State's history as will be observed by examining the table of contents. Following the established policy of the magazine in presenting at least one article in each issue on current history the very scholarly analysis of the *Roots of German National Socialism* as presented by Judge Davis F. Stakely, has been given first place in the magazine. This paper was presented by Judge Stakely and read before The Thirteen, a club composed of men of various callings and professions which has been in existence for more than forty years.

Dr. Peerce N. McDonald is also a member of The Thirteen and his article on the Indian Mounds at Moundville was also read before that organization. These mounds were old when Desoto invaded Alabama in 1540 and no students of Indian life have determined as to who built them. Objects taken from the mounds by Dr. Clarence B. Moore, in 1905, were carried to Philadelphia and long exhibited in the Academy of Natural Science in that city. When their museum became crowded they gave their collection of Indian objects to the Heye Museum in New York. The collections of that museum which is also known as a museum of American Indians, has no objects of Indian work as beautiful as those taken from Moundville. Historians have based their opinion upon those objects and others taken from our mounds, that the Indians of Alabama were further advanced in civilization and in the arts and crafts of the primitive people than any Indians outside of old Mexico and Peru.

The history of the Greene County Library is given herewith for the information and inspiration of communities throughout the State who are ambitious to establish and maintain libraries and who are hesitant to take the step for fear of failure either from lack of personnel, public interest or of adequate financial support. The history of the Greene County Library shows how a small town can undertake a big job and succeed so well that their services extend to the limits of the County. Mrs. Emory Peebles Hildreth, who tells the story of the library has shown an indomitable courage in carrying on this fine civic and educational enterprise and was persuaded by the Editor of this magazine to tell the story of her

efforts and of the co-operation of her co-worker, as an example for other communities. She is the wife of Circuit Judge Emmett Hildreth and is an active figure in the literary and club life of the State.

The article "*A Time for Greatness*" by Bert Henderson, of Montgomery, is a fine study of the reflex action of life upon the mind and heart of the poet. Mr. Henderson himself has written some very fine war poetry, examples of which are found in this issue of the Quarterly.

In view of the fact that the present generation is so long removed from the Titanic struggle made by our people to preserve the fundamental right of self-determination and the right of a State to regulate its own internal affairs, this magazine feels warranted in presenting stories from time to time relating not only to the struggle itself but to its aftermath known as Reconstruction. The article in this issue describing Wilson's Raid in Montgomery, written by Mr. Samuel Walker Catts, gives a real picture of some of the humiliation suffered by our people during the military invasion and the Carpetbag period that followed.

Beginning with this issue of the Quarterly a sketch of each County in the State will be reproduced from the late Dr. Thomas M. Owen's four volume work entitled *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*. This work was published nearly a quarter of a century ago and no effort will be made by the Editor of the Quarterly to bring the history up to date.

The current Legislature was very generous in its appropriations for historical purposes in its session of 1943. One of the objects favorably considered was a Bill by Senator L. J. Lawson, of Hale County, which was passed by both Houses and approved by the Governor July 9, 1943. In 1942 a bust of Richmond Pearson Hobson, of Greensboro, was unveiled in the South lobby of the marble hall of the World War Memorial Building which had previously been dedicated to the Spanish-American War heroes. The address was made by Joseph H. James and that address is produced in this issue of the Quarterly in connection with the Act which makes the Admiral Hobson home, "Magnolia Grove", a State shrine.

The Book Reviews presented here are all prepared by Miss Emily Calcott, a member of the faculty of State Teachers College at Troy, Alabama, and were written especially for this publication. Too often book reviews are misleading as they are based upon advance criticisms by the publishers themselves. The reviews by Miss Calcott are impartial, analytical and intelligent.

More and more our people show their interest in their origins. The library of the Department of Archives and History is in daily request for information about family lines by descendants of our State builders who have gone out into all parts of the world. A few of the inquiries made by these correspondents are presented in this Quarterly with the hope that those who have information will correspond directly with those who are eagerly searching for the facts which will give them great satisfaction. These queries are submitted through Miss Mary R. Mullen, the Department's Librarian.

In order that our memories may be refreshed on certain aspects of current history an Editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of recent date entitled "Roosevelt and the South" is reproduced in this issue of the magazine.

THE ROOTS OF GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM

By Davis F. Stakely

(It is the policy of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* to present in each issue an article of current historical interest. In this issue is presented a thoughtful study by Davis F. Stakely, a leader of the Montgomery bar and now Associate Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court.)

In these momentous times, the moral basis of our civilization, as developed under the influence of Christianity and rational modes of thought, is being savagely attacked by a new philosophy. We can resist this onset the better if we can understand the better this new and ruthless force. The great movements of history all have their roots. It will be the attempt of this paper to analyze the sources or roots of contemporary German totalitarianism, termed German National Socialism. Now I would not underestimate the effect of the Treaty of Versailles, economic maladjustments, the depression and unemployment. These played their part. But they rather made the soil fertile for the growth of German National Socialism. They were not its roots.

An analysis brings to light several roots of German National Socialism: Prussianism, the Romantic tradition and the racial or superman theory and the reappraisal of all moral and spiritual values as best exemplified in the teaching of Frederick Nietzsche. The Prussian tradition, sometimes called the Spirit of Potsdam, had its birth and nurture in Brandenburg, Pomerania and eastern Prussia, lands that lie east of the Elbe river. The lands were overrun by German invasion and the Slav inhabitants were made a servile class. The conquest bred in the conquerors the spirit and superior attitude of a master race. The German princes, the Hohenzollerns, forged these lands, without national unity and with no historic background, into a new state, a state, however, with small natural resources and with frontiers unprotected by natural barriers.

Under the leadership of Frederick the Great and Bismark, here on these plains of northeastern Germany was developed a powerful state, able to take its place among the world powers. They were able to do this by a complete and untiring obeisance to a powerful state and by turning all the material and intellectual

resources of the people into the creation of a powerful army. Where in other states the State possessed the armed forces, in Prussia the armed forces possessed the State. The army became not only the means by which policies were formulated, it became the center and moving force of the community, the arbiter of both public and private life. Under Bismarck, the army was the instrument which welded the German states into a unity, which really meant that the other German states became controlled by an aggrandized Prussia.

Prussia was much like Sparta. There was no society independent of and critical of the State. The State was itself the center of all social and political life. The State controlled all moral and spiritual aspirations.

Though Frederick the Great and Bismarck professed to be Christians, their religion was made to be subservient to the power of the State. The State was to them in no sense a moral concept. The State was supreme. Prussian militarism and the justification of all ethical life by the State drew a dividing line between the Prussian conception of the State and the Western conception.

But Prussianism, as being synonymous with efficient state bureaucracy and militarism is prosaic and dull to the masses. It failed to attract the people during the German Republic. As we view the soldiers on parade, Prussianism may seem to be the dominant force. Let us, however, not make this mistake. It is the glow in the hearts of these marching, goose stepping troops that must also be considered. The inspiration for this dynamic glow is Romantic. As Hans Kohn puts it, "Nazism is the strange new child of a marriage between Romanticism and Prussianism. How strange and yet how real is this combination of Potsdam and Munich, of the disciplined martinets with the wild-eyed gangster Bohemians of Germany's Greenwich Village." Let us now trace this so-called romanticism.

German romanticism was even more opposed to the liberalism of the West than the Prussian conception of the state. German romanticism differed in its implications of romanticism in the Western world. There it was applied to an artistic appraisal of literature. In Germany it became a creed of philosophy, explaining political theory the way of life and history. In Germany it did

not turn to the future, to the influence of the liberal, parliamentary countries but to the darkness of the past when German tribes and clans had overthrown the Roman Empire and conquered the then known world. It was opposed to the emphasis on individual liberty and the equality of men. These things it regarded as hollow and superficial. For how could equality be in accord with the idea of superiority. The idea of the superman and of the superior race, which rejects the rational as well as the Christian concept of man, grew into being with the beginning of German romanticism.

Richard Wagner became the first proponent of note of German Romanticism. Romanticism became for him a racial concept. He turned the thoughts of the German people to the gods, to the legends and to the heroes of the dim and unlettered past. They were made inspiring examples of blood and elementary forces where fatalism ruled and not free spiritual growth. The myths of the past had no relation to truth, but were appraised according to their effect on the will.

Hitler has said: "Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany must know Wagner." Now, of course, Wagner, the socialist and the great musician, must be placed far above the Nazi level. Like most dreamers, he would never have accepted the terrible Nazi methods. He would have attained the national socialist goal not through force, but through art and music and the Volk soul. Nevertheless, he is part of the fountain head of the Nazi creed and had his part in laying the ground work for its intolerant, lawless and racist tenets. We are not concerned here with what is pleasing in Wagner. We are concerned in that phase of him as a socialist and as an artist which fashioned Hitler and Goebbels and the rest.

According to Goebbels, Hitler has seen *Die Meistersinger* more than one hundred times. Even as early as 1920 Hitler spoke of the "mystic destiny linking his struggle to that of Wagner's."

As a youth Hitler was filled with hysterical excitement during the playing of Wagner's music. According to Hitler's own words, he heard his first opera, *Lohengrin*, at the age of twelve and was captivated. Later in life he said, "Opera is really the best divine service. Wagner is a fighter."

Vierech has said:

"No wonder the diabolically clever combination of appeal with which Hitler won the masses consists of the very same appeals which compose Wagner's metapolitics. These are: Pan-German nationalism, vague promises of economic socialism (that true, anti-Marxist brand); fanatic anti-Semitism, both economic and racial; revolt against legalism; revolt against reason, especially against alien intellectualism; the Fuhrer principle, yearning for the organic volk state without class distinction; hatred of free speech and parliamentary democracy and of the international bankers supposed to control democracy; misty nordic primitivism of the Seigfried and Nibelungen sagas;

"Neither Wagner nor his pupil Hitler invented any of these appeals. Wagner's historical importance is this: he is the focal point where all these contradictory doctrines coalesce into one single program of irresistible demagogic appeal to the mass man. Hitler's historical importance is as the genius who actually did the job, the Horatio Alger of metapolitics who, though born without a brown shirt on his back, orated his way from office boy to president of the world's most efficient death factory."

Admiration for Wagner's prose compositions deeply affected both the literary style and thought of Hitler. Many of the political ideas as expressed in *Mein Kampf* come from Wagner. The style of both is pompous, bombastic and grammatically involved. Wagner's style, says Mann, "doubtless has a strange National Socialist element even when regarded purely as prose and apart from all content."

The writings and speeches of Hitler exhibit the faults of Wagner's style: repetition, hysteria, grandiloquence and foolish tangents. Yet they have the same strong points: dynamic vigour that sweeps the audience along; mysticism that gives the hearer or the reader an elated and heroic sense.

The showmanship in the operas of Wagner are imitated by Hitler. The trick of filling the audience with awe is the manner for managing as for a stage, the congresses of the Nazi party.

Torch Light parades, choruses of the mob, posings and gestures as of the nordic heroes and rising crescendos. All these have been brought from Bayreuth to Munich.

When Hitler was sentenced to prison in 1924 for treason, he took along a phonograph and recordings of Wagner's operas. During the period in jail when he dictated *Mein Kampf* to Rudolph Hess, his writing was done to the heroic strains of Wagner's composition.

Sir Ernest MacMillan, a distinguished musician, is the conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. In a speech delivered at Vancouver in 1939 he said:

"From the time I first saw Hitler in Bayreuth in 1933, I have felt a perverted Wagnerism in all his actions and speeches. His very speeches suggested a parody of Wagner.*** Hitler identifies himself in his own mind with many a Wagnerian hero. One such hero is Lohengrin, the knight in shining armour. Hitler compares his last minute rescue of Germany by glorious bloodshed to Lohengrin's similar rescue of Elsa. In Hitler's own "House of German Art" at Munich hangs a painting of Sir Adolph on horseback dressed in shining white armour. When Hitler entered the present World War, the sword motif of Wagner's *Ring der Nibelungen* rang continuously in his ears and he felt himself "Siegfried setting forth to slay the dragon. In fact, his premonitions of his approaching death revealed by his own speech of September 1, 1939, suggest that for him this war is a grand Wagnerian *Gottterdammerung* (Twilight of the Gods) with the whole of Europe afire as a funeral pyre for Adolph Hitler. Anyone who thinks such a picture too outrageously disproportionate for even Hitler's imagination cannot have followed his career carefully."

The official program as issued in 1920 by the young Nazi party consisted of "Twenty-five Points," a curious mixture of racism for the upper crust and socialism for the under dog. The demagogic appeals to both sides of the fence helped to make the National Socialist Party. The Twenty-five points are exactly the same as what is known as Wagner's Bayreuth program.

The published diary of Goebbels is informing. After hearing *Die Meistersinger* in 1932, Goebbels wrote "As the great 'Awake' chorus begins, you feel the stimulation in your blood. Germany, too, will soon feel the same and be called to an awakening. We must attain to power." And in 1933 he wrote how Wagner's radiant "Awake" chorus has regained its true significance after Hitler became dictator under the slogan "Deutschland erwache" (Germany awake).

Goebbels further says: "Hear the *Valkyrie* at the State Opera. Wagner's sublime music is mingled with the sound of marching of the Steel Helmet troops who have celebrated their great day in Berlin and are now passing the opera house."

Here you see the Nazi mind in this blending of the romanticism of Wagner with the marching militarism bent on brutal force.

Although the revival of the *Nibelungen-Seigfried* legends began at an earlier period, it took Wagner's operas to make them familiar to the great mass of everyday Germans. It was he who brought home to all Germany the wonderful sword of Siegfried, the terrible capitalistic dragon, the little Aryan dwarfs with their corrupting gold. Here are some examples of the manner in which these opera tales of *Seigfried* affected German thought.

The Nazi excused the 1918 defeat on the ground that the great armies at the front were stabbed in the back by the Jews and democrats back home. Elmer Davis explains why this propaganda was swallowed by the Germans. He said, "Three generations of Germans have been conditioned by Wagner's Ring operas to the conviction that the German hero can never be struck down except by a stab in the back such as dark Hagen administered to blond *Seigfried*. According to Hitler's own words, "the warring German *Seigfried* received a stealthy stab in the back by the parliamentary foot pads."

In speaking of the first meeting of the Nazi party Hitler further said, "Out of its flames was bound to come the sword which was to regain the freedom of the German *Seigfried*."

While Versailles kept Germany disarmed, audiences at the opera were carried away with rapturous enthusiasm in the symbolic

scene where Siegfried forges the German sword. It was the "Siegfried Line" by which the German people referred to the great new chain of fortification on its Western front.

In 1940 Robert Ley, director of the Labor Front, in speaking to his labor listeners, said that the war was as a crusade against the decadent English dragon who deprives the German Siegfried of the Nibelungen hoard, which meant raw materials, colonies and Lebensraum. He knew his audience would understand the analogy.

The mistake must not be made of confusing the Second Reich of the Hohenzollern and Bismarck era with the Third Reich. To do this is to fail to consider the revolutionary, romantic side of Nazism. Hitler mocks as a "mad concept" the Prussian ideal of "doglike adoration for state authority." He said, "Such a dead mechanism must be replaced by a living organism based on herd instinct, which appears when all are of one blood. The Jewish-democratic state has become a real curse to the German Volk. Hitler is here quoting Wagner almost verbatim.

After the treaty of Versailles the problem for the Romantics was how to destroy the old order of international capitalism, how to destroy the Jews blamed for that condition. What would be the ruthless force to achieve this end? Wagner foresaw and answered this question. In 1881 he said, "We must seek the Hero of the future who turns against the ruin of his race. Such hero becomes divine." Here is the Fuhrer concept of Wagner.

When in 1924 Hitler was tried for treason he said, "You are dragging me to court just as two thousand years ago a divine hero was dragged to his apparent death by the same race. I wanted to be the destroyer of Marxism. I mean to solve this task." And then he shouted from the prisoner's box, "When I stood for the first time before Richard Wagner's grave, my heart swelled with pride."

In the emotional mass politics of Germany, Wagner's romantic fanaticism of an earlier day becomes important when we see Hitler in his earlier years standing at Wagner's grave, heroically and melo-dramatically dedicating himself as the Siegfried of the lower classes.

German National Socialism is an ugly, monstrous thing. Added to its military, romantic and racial aspects must be considered its reappraisal of all moral and spiritual values. These appear in its rejection of the principles of Christianity, its persecution of the Jews, its hatred of the democratic ideal, its attitude toward women, its acceptance of ruthlessness and force and its belief that any means should be utilized to achieve an end, no matter how base the agencies or however immoral the end may be.

This revaluation of all moral and spiritual values took its rise in the writings and teachings of Frederick Nietzsche. It was he who first gave forceful expression to these things. To prove the point, I shall often quote the words of Nietzsche himself.

While still in his teens, Frederick Nietzsche, the son of a minister, lost faith in God, as revealed in the Scriptures, and passed the rest of his days seeking some substitute to worship. He believed that the Superman was what he sought. Darwin and Bismarck became his guides. For, in substance, according to Darwin, in the battle for life what men need is not goodness but strength, not humility but pride, not altruism but egoism, not equality and democracy which run counter to the survival of the fittest, but power as the arbiter of destiny.

Bismarck was a man who looked life in the face realistically and who bluntly said, "There is no altruism among nations, modern issues are to be decided not by votes and rhetoric, but by blood and iron."

Nietzsche loved Richard Wagner for his ideas of the superman, but turned away from Wagner forever, when in the closing period of Wagner's career, he found how full he was of his new opera Parsifal, which was to be an exaltation of Christianity, pity and fleshless love. He preferred Siegfried, the man of force and power, to Parsifal, the saint.)

To Nietzsche were two moralities, the morality of masters and a morality of the herd. To him the first was accepted by the Romans where virtue was symonomous with virtus, which in Latin means manhood, courage and bravery. The second came from Asia, from the Jews in their days of subjection, subjection breeding humility and helplessness which in turn produces altruism, which

to Nietzsche means calling for help.

According to Nietzsche honor was pagan, Roman, feudal and aristocratic; conscience was Jewish, Christian, bourgeois and democratic. According to him, this valuation culminated in the teachings of Jesus, who taught that every man was of equal worth and had equal rights, from which, according to him, came democracy, self-sacrifice and pity even for the defective and incompetent.

He said, "The whole of the morality of Europe is based upon the values which are useful to the herd. The strong are no longer permitted to exercise their strength; they must become as far as possible like the weak."

He further says: "Moral systems must be compelled first of all to bow before the gradations of rank. * * * they must thoroughly understand that it is immoral to say that what is right for one is proper for the other * * * evil forces of the strong are as necessary in a society as the good virtues of the weak. Severity, violence, danger, war are as valuable as kindliness and peace. The best thing in man is strength of will, power and permanence of passion; without passion one is mere milk, incapable of deeds. Greed, envy, even hatred are indispensable items in the process of struggle, selection and survival. We must beware of being too good."

He further says: "Just as morality lies not in kindness but in strength, so the goal of human effort shall not be the elevation of all but the development of finer and stronger individuals. Not mankind, but superman is the goal. * * *

"How absurd it is, after all, to let higher individuals marry for love—heroes with servant girls and geniuses with seamstresses. * * * The best should marry only the best; love should be left to the rabble."

And further "Feminism is the natural corollary of democracy and Christianity * * * Equality between man and woman is impossible, because war between them is eternal; there is here no peace without victory—peace comes only when one is acknowledged master. * * * Everything in woman is a riddle and everything in woman hath one answer; its name is child bearing. Man is for

woman a means; the end is always the child. But what is woman for man? A dangerous toy. Man shall be educated for war and woman for the recreation of the warrior; everything else is folly.

"The road to the superman must be through aristocracy. Democracy—this mania for counting noses—must be eradicated before 'tis too late. The first step here is the destruction of Christianity. * * * The triumph of Christ was the beginning of democracy: the first Christian was in his deepest instincts a rebel against everything privileged; he lived and struggled unremittingly for equal rights."

And he further says: "As the conquest of Europe by Christianity was the end of ancient aristocracy, so the over-running of Europe by Teutonic warrior barons brought a revival of the old masculine virtues and planted the roots of modern aristocracies. These were not burdened with morals; they were free of every social restraint; in the innocence of their wild beast conscience they returned as exultant masters from a horrible train of murder, incendiarism, rapine and torture. * * * A herd of blond beasts of prey, a race of conquerors and masters." And further: "Worst of all are the English, it is they who corrupted the French mind with democratic delusion; shopkeepers, Christians, cows, women, Englishmen and other democrats together * * * Democracy means the enthronement of liberty and chaos. It means worship of mediocrity and the hatred of excellence * * * How can the superman arise in such a soil?"

This paper is an attempt to trace historically to its sources a savage philosophy which runs counter to the influence of Christianity, rational thought and humanity. Its great and unprecedented challenge can be met only by an unprecedented response. In a far profounder meaning than he could have contemplated, the words of Abraham Lincoln when he addressed Congress in 1862, are true today. He said:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save our country. Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. * * * We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth."

THE HISTORY OF THE GREENE COUNTY LIBRARY

By Emory Peebles Hildreth

Greene County Library

As librarian of the Greene County Library during its thirteen and a half years of existence, I think maybe I should write a brief history of the library, before my memory and library scrap books fail me.

My most vivid memory of the library is the day of its gala opening, June 20, 1930.

Eutaw was ninety years old and this was its first public library. No wonder the opening was impressive. The two witness and jury rooms on the second floor of the beautiful old court house was the first location of the library. Judge L. H. Montgomery had had the two rooms and the hall between freshly plastered and the floors painted. The enormous windows were raised and the library rooms were cool and attractive. An iron stairway had been erected on the outside of the court house connecting with the iron balcony just outside the library rooms. Beautiful oil paintings by Virginia W. Barnes, Eutaw's artist, adorned the walls. Vases of lovely summer flowers added color, and Mrs. M. B. Cameron's canary birds furnished music. The library executive committee formed the reception committee and beautiful young girls served punch to one hundred and twenty who visited the library. Everyone was enthusiastic over the young library and showered the library with books, one hundred and forty in all. Sixty-three books were borrowed that first afternoon.

Another vivid memory is the time the library caught fire in Jan., 1931, and broke up Eutaw's famous domino game. I went to the library at three o'clock that afternoon, as usual, and when I opened the door to the room where the juvenile books were kept, dense smoke gushed out into the hall. I rushed down the steep iron steps from the balcony, ran into the room in the court house where the more or less continuous domino game was in session

and told the players and spectators that the library was on fire. Old men and young men found buckets from somewhere, filled them with water and ran up to the library. They put the fire out in a short while, but the room was filled with smoke. With a new sensation of horror, I suddenly remembered that the Alabama Art League exhibit was on display in that smoke filled room. Glancing up at the handsome oil painting of a haughty lady in white evening dress, I thought: "Madam, you will never know how near you came losing your life." It seemed like the irony of fate that an art exhibit that had been to the Magic City should have to gather a little extra smoke in beautiful, smoke-free Eutaw. It probably helped eliminate some of the too new appearance of the oils. I didn't know what to regret the most, the smoke on the walls, the books and the visiting art exhibit, or having broken up the domino game.

The history of the library dates back two years before its opening in June, 1930. Most probably I shouldn't record the following item in its history, but surely I can state with pardonable pride that it was upon my suggestion, as president of the newly organized Arts Club, that in November, 1927, the Arts Club voted, unanimously, to foster the establishment of a public library in Eutaw. The motion was made by Mrs. R. E. Fulton and seconded by Mrs. R. H. (Virginia W.) Barnes. I suppose that could be called the birth of the Greene County Library project. It was our idea that every organization in the county and all the county and Eutaw officials be asked to cooperate. The clubs were to be asked to give an initial gift of \$25.00 and \$10.00 annually to the library. I recall how seriously we worked over the selection of the proper club women to present the plans for the library to the different organizations. To those women, Mrs. David K. Trotter and Mrs. R. H. Barnes, is due the praise for interesting and securing the cooperation of all the organizations and officials of Greene County and Eutaw. Letters were written to some of the organizations. The seven organizations were: Arts Club, Twentieth Century Study Club, Twenty-Three Circle, Kiwanis Club, Boligee Study Club, Junior Arts Club, and the U.D.C. Later on the American Legion and the Legion Auxiliary and still later, the Home Demonstration Club and the Lions Club joined in the work, but at the present time, some of the above organizations, the Kiwanis, Junior Arts Club, Boligee Study Club, and the Legion Auxiliary have disbanded and the U.D.C. has had to drop the library from its

budget, so we receive only fifty dollars annually from clubs.

After securing the cooperation of all the organizations and public officials, three members from each club, together with Judge L. H. Montgomery and Eutaw's mayor, E. F. Hildreth, met at the home of Mrs. R. H. Barnes and organized the Greene County Library Association. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. R. H. Barnes; Vice-President, Mrs. W. J. Barnes; Secretary, E. F. Hildreth; Treasurer, Mrs. Fannie Winston Steele. At the second meeting of the Association, a constitution was adopted. The Library Association has met annually since its organization, at which meetings reports are read by the librarian and treasurer and officers are elected, if necessary. The officers usually serve two years. All of the presidents of the Library Association have been fine, capable women who were keenly interested in the library. Their names, in the order of their administration, are: Mrs. R. H. Barnes, Mrs. Fannie W. Steele, Mrs. A. H. Appleton, Mrs. J. S. Coleman, Mrs. A. N. Grubbs, Mrs. S. D. Bayer, Mrs. J. S. Morris, Mrs. Joel McLemore, Jr. and Mrs. Ralph Banks. All of the other officers have also rendered outstanding service to the library. In the past, each year the president of the Library Association put on some project to raise additional funds for the library, but in 1939 Mrs. H. W. Brodnax made the splendid suggestion that we have an annual Library Day in the fall on which day money would be solicited all over the county for the library. This method of raising library funds has been used for five years now and has been very satisfactory. The collection usually amounts to about \$100.00. This fall it amounted to \$143.43. Women from each section of the county and Eutaw are called upon to solicit funds on Library Day, and they cooperate beautifully. Six years ago, Mrs. Roberta K. Borden put on a carnival for the benefit of the library and that was very successful, the net receipts being about \$105.00. Everyone cooperated on that project. It was lots of fun but required much work from many. That is why the Library Day method of supplementing library funds has been so satisfactory. It doesn't over-work anyone. Each fall Judge Montgomery and the County Commissioners give \$100.00 to the library. Five Hundred dollars have been added to the original endowment fund of \$2,000.00.

People frequently ask me how we secured the money to begin our library. The first fourteen hundred (\$1400.00) dollars were

secured from organizations, individual donations and from the production of a play in which practically the whole town lent a helping hand in one way or another. We were ready to begin plans for opening the library on that meager amount when an anonymous friend offered to give the library one thousand dollars if the Library Association would raise an additional thousand dollars. The challenge was accepted and a very efficient committee of men, Mr. J. O. Banks, Mr. J. F. Aldridge and Mayor E. F. Hildreth, went "around the square" in Eutaw and in a very short time secured the additional thousand dollars. We were delighted to have \$3400.00 for our library. An endowment fund was established with \$2000.00 of this money, which, under the able management of Mr. J. O. Banks, yielded the library about one hundred dollars a year for eleven years. It is more now that the endowment fund has been increased. The County has always furnished the library rooms, janitor service and fuel, and the town of Eutaw has always paid the librarian's salary which was \$25.00 a month until the depression hit the town in 1932. The librarian's salary was then reduced to \$15.00 a month. The Library Association supplements this salary with three dollars a month. The library is open two hours each day.

While the library movement was steadily progressing toward realization back in the winter of 1930, we were having difficulty in finding a librarian. Many capable prospects were offered the position but none wanted it. At a meeting of the Library Executive Committee, when the problem of finding a librarian was under discussion, Mrs. Fannie W. Steele turned to me and asked me if I wouldn't be librarian. On the impulse of the moment, I agreed to be librarian, temporarily, since we had to have a librarian immediately and I had once had a little library experience when I was assistant librarian at Alabama College one session. I thought I could spare two hours a day from my still thrilling housekeeping problems but that night I felt rather overwhelmed with my new responsibility and I wondered why I had agreed to be librarian. It seemed such a herculean undertaking for one who knew almost nothing about library science except checking books out and in, and mending them.

I decided it was "what is to be" that I should be librarian, temporarily. Two years before, when I first came to Eutaw I had tried to maintain a small rental library in our home and failed.

The people weren't interested in paying to read books. Years before that, I had succeeded in establishing a five shelf library of classics for the English department in Highland Institution, a Mountain Mission at Guerrant, Kentucky, where I taught and years and years before that, while living in the now deserted village of Vienna, Alabama, I was summer librarian of the Cedar Grove Academy (one room school house) library, and faithfully cared for the four dozen or more books. I decided the time had arrived for me to experiment further as a librarian.

I had already been working on the first book order. There were three of us on the book committee, Mrs. Fannie W. Steele, Mrs. R. E. Fulton and myself. Mrs. Steele's eyes were giving her trouble at that time and Mrs. Fulton was very busy with her duties as president of Tuscaloosa Presbyterial so the work fell upon me. I spent all of my spare time studying book catalogs. When I was a child, each Christmas night I would order books with the five dollars my uncle always gave me for Christmas. In those days, five dollars would buy more books than now but not near enough to suit me. I would wish that some day I could order all the books I wanted at one time. That wish was more than fulfilled in the spring of 1930 when I experienced the thrill of ordering seven hundred books at one time! The nucleus for the first order was the ten thousand dollar Harper prize list of the one hundred books that every library should have. In addition, the latest books of fiction, non-fiction, biography, juvenile books and second-hand sets of classics were ordered. The latter were ordered from Lary's in Philadelphia and were very decorative volumes. Among them were: Shakespeare, Ruskin, Balzac, Thackeray, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, George Elliott, Robert Burns, Stevenson, Kipling, Poe, Mark Twain, Hawthorne and others. I thought they would be read, but alas! Fortunately, at that time the State Department of Education was paying one-third of the cost of all books purchased by public libraries. Miss Alice Wyman, librarian at the University, had been very helpful in giving me names and addresses of book companies, magazine agencies and the name of a company who sold library supplies.

I shall never forget the huge undertaking of getting the seven hundred books ready to place on the new adjustable steel book shelves. A number of boy scouts, A. J. Hook, Reed Beeker, Charlie Coleman and Wikles Banks, Jr., volunteered to help me stamp the

books and paste in the card pockets and date due slips. They were efficient and willing workers, sticking to the job until the last book was ready to be catalogued.

As soon as the books were ready, Mrs. G. W. Brock, librarian at the State College for Teachers at Livingston came to Eutaw on the invitation of Mrs. Fannie W. Steele, and gave the library a whole day's work teaching me all I know about cataloging books and helping me catalog as many as possible. She brought with her one of her library assistants and all day they worked, stopping only long enough to have lunch with me. Their help was invaluable and the Library Association was deeply grateful to them. A few months later, Mrs. Brock returned and gave me some more much needed lessons in library science.

During the two weeks following Mrs. Brock's first visit, the Eutaw ladies helped me finish cataloging the books. The library was fortunate in having the court room for a work room. Books were spread out on benches and tables, and I taught the ladies the little I had learned about cataloging books. First the books had to be entered in the accession book, given a number, then a book card and three or more catalog cards had to be written for each book. The huge windows and the doors that opened onto the quaint iron balconies were wide open letting the balmy June air sweep through the sixty-four year old court room to refresh the ladies while they worked on and on. Their labor was a continuation of the beautiful spirit of interest and cooperation on the part of all the people of Greene County which had and has characterized the entire history of the Greene County Library.

Mr. J. S. Coleman, editor of the Greene County Democrat, has been very generous about giving space in his paper for all library publicity, which has meant much in the growth of the library. Each month the library circulation and other library news appears in the Democrat.

From the very beginning, boxes of library books were sent regularly to rural schools requesting them. Some adult books are put in the boxes and the children and grown people in the rural communities derive great pleasure from the books.

The serious objection to having the library in the witness and

jury rooms of the courthouse, was that the library had to close during each session of Court. After Court, books would be found badly out of place and it would take days to get the library straight again. Being deprived of the library during court inconvenienced the people and so everyone was delighted when the library soon began to outgrow the court house rooms and the far-seeing executive committee of the Library Association called a mass meeting of leading men and women of Greene County to appear before the County Commissioners to request them to have a library building erected. The Commissioners agreed to do this and, fortunately, for the young library, the contract for the new building was let just prior to the 1931 depression. Times were very bad while the building was being erected but everyone felt pleased and grateful

when it was finished and the books had been moved into the spacious, attractive building on a corner of the court house square.



The new library was very attractively furnished. Two long reading tables, a large desk, two magazine racks and an encyclopedia stand had been made by the contractor who built the library.

Interior Greene County Library, Eutaw, Ala.

(From a pencil sketch.)

The desk was a lovely reproduction of a four hundred dollar library desk. In addition, a swivel chair and eight nice cane bottom chairs were bought and the very nicest linoleum was put on the floor.

The new building inspired another grand opening reception on November 7, 1931, and for this occasion, a second Alabama Art League Exhibit was secured. I recall how jealous and outraged I felt when some people who came to the library opening were so interested in the art exhibit they didn't even notice the new library building, the attractive new furniture nor the hundreds of books! Those receiving at the opening of the new library building were Mrs. Fannie W. Steele, beloved president of the Library

Association, Mrs. R. J. Kendall, Miss Elizabeth Archibald, Mrs. J. T. McLemore, Jr., Mrs. Lynn Dearman, Mr. J. O. Banks and Judge L. H. Montgomery. There were one hundred and ninety visitors. Refreshments were served upstairs in the welfare office, all sponsoring clubs assisting.

Innumerable friends have given single volumes to the library. Those who have given large numbers of volumes are: The late Mr. J. O. Banks, Miss Addie McLemore, Mrs. Julia Dimick, Mrs. Pauline Womack Wright, the late Mr. John Cook, the late Mr. S. D. Palmer, Mrs. W. D. Johnston, Mrs. J. F. Aldridge, Mrs. John Meriwether, the late Mrs. Amelia Legare and the U. D. C. Chapter

Two beautiful oil paintings were given to the library. One, a large painting of the court house was painted and presented by the late Mrs. Ruth Crawford Watson, the other, an oil painting of magnolia blossoms and foliage was painted by Mrs. A. N. Grubbs. Two other beautiful paintings that hang in the library are a water color picture of the lovely ante-bellum Presbyterian Church in Eutaw and an oil painting of the beautiful court house, both painted by Mrs. Virginia W. Barnes and presented by the County. Possibly the most interesting picture in the library is the pretty old print of the Eutaw Mesopotamia Female Seminary that Mr. and Mrs. Owen Meredith, Sr., of Tuscaloosa found, had framed and presented to the Greene County Library. They were reared in Greene County and were loyal and generous enough to want the people of Greene County to own the valuable old print. Many people who come to the library tell me about their ancestors who attended the Seminary long ago. When the print was made the Seminary was a mile from town on Mesopotamia Street. Years later it was moved into town and is now an apartment house. No one knows when the Seminary was established but Henry P. Hatfield was principal of it in 1855, just fifteen years after Eutaw was incorporated. There were two male academies in Eutaw also and a book store. It would be interesting if the library could secure prints of the male academies. One year, upon the request of the Twentieth Century Study Club, the library spent \$7.00 of that club's annual donation to purchase an available piece of music, "The Mesopotamia Waltz Mazurka", composed by Miss Anne Hatfield and inscribed to her pupils of the Eutaw Mesopotamia Female Seminary in 1853. The print of the Seminary is on the back of the music and this has been framed and hung in the library.

The music has been bound and placed in the iron safe in the library.

Another valuable gift presented the library was an iron safe, given by Mr. J. O. Banks. He wanted to be sure the Library Association constitution and minutes were kept in a fire proof place. Mr. Banks also gave the library a new card catalog cabinet. He was on the Library Association Executive Committee from the very beginning and was always interested in the library and its needs. He took great pride in the fact that the library was completely catalogued.

The library has grown from the original seven hundred volumes to four thousand and the circulation averaged nine hundred a month until this war era stopped many people from reading. The library has always been able to buy the most popular new fiction and non-fiction and the very best juvenile books. The library subscribes to the following magazines: Time, Readers Digest, Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan, Child Life, Life, Better Homes & Gardens and the Open Road for Boys. The library has about one hundred of the International Mind Alcove books, presented by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. They are all splendid books about foreign nations and international problems. The library has the Encyclopedia Britannica, Owens' four volume History of Alabama, the twenty-one volume History of Southern Literature and other fine reference books. There is a wide selection of books on most every subject.

A few months ago when we were badly in need of shelf space, rather than spend any of our library income on new shelves, I exiled to the top of the steel book shelves near the ceiling, practically all of the beautifully bound, seldom read, second-hand sets of classics we had bought in 1930. I felt very guilty and apologetic (to the authors) while arranging Thackeray, Ruskin, Balzac and others on that ceiling high space. Their colorful bindings, stretching in a straight row, added a decorative touch to the library, however, a mural decoration that reminded me of the human bone decoration I saw in the Capuchin monastery in Rome. Dead things could still be decorative. And yet, I read an article by Andre Maurois in 1940 in which he mentioned the books he hated to part with as he made preparations to depart for the front and among his most treasured was his set of this same Balzac that I had just exiled to the ceiling. Well, I can still get them down if

anyone should call for them. I have a feeling that unread books appreciate being remembered and requested, especially those that once were so popular.

The Greene County Library has many things to point to with pride. For instance, a minister from a neighboring county visited our library to do some reference reading and some people organizing a library in Choctaw County wrote to us for details about the organization of our library. A picture of the library was used on the front of the programs of the A.F.W.C. Fourth District Convention when it met in Eutaw in 1936. Miss Agnes Ellen Harris, Director of the District, was responsible for that honor. She appreciated the fact that the library was begun as a federated club project. In a letter inclosing a check for our Library Day collection, Mrs. Roberta K. Borden wrote us: "If my resources were commensurate with my appreciation, this check would be multiplied a thousand times, because our Library has contributed more to my happiness than I can ever express to you." The Red Cross was invited to move into one end of the library when the chapter had to find a new location in 1943.

It is interesting to recall the part the Eutaw pastors played in establishing the library. Dr. R. E. Fulton, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, was chairman of the committee on organization and presented the constitution to the Library Association at the second meeting. He has held several offices in the Library Association and is always on the Executive Committee. He gave the library a beautiful copy of the Bible. Mr. A. B. Carlton, pastor of the Methodist Church, was the second secretary of the Library Association. The late Mr. S. D. Palmer, rector of the Episcopal Church, was always interested in the library. He made a drawer for the librarian's first desk, an antique pulpit affair that answered every purpose until we could do better, and he made some shelf steps for the library. He wrote an article for the Democrat soon after library opened in which he said: "Greene County Library has now come to physical birth and potential usefulness, a well proportioned, vigorous and promising literary infant. In an intangible way, it will be an asset to county and town, in increased community self-respect and the respect of our neighbors. It is a real and tangible asset for all book lovers and a great educational opportunity, a potential and not enforced benefit." I wish Mr. Palmer could know that the library has grown to four thousand

volumes and that the circulation for January, 1940, was twelve hundred. He would be very pleased.

The library is indeed fortunate in having public officials who appreciate the value of the library to the town and county. Mayor J. K. Smith and the town councilmen, Judge L. H. Montgomery and the County Commissioners have been very interested in the growth of the library and cooperative whenever their help was needed.

When I temporarily accepted the position of librarian, I little thought that the end of thirteen and a half years would find me still worrying about over-due books and the financial inability to supply some people's insatiable demand for more and more new books. The pleasure of associating with good books and watching the young library grow, more than compensated for these worries. Two operations and the arrival of my little son gave me a prolonged absence from the library on three occasions during which time the library was capably managed by my assistant librarians. Miss Francis Horton and later Mrs. B. B. Barnes, Jr., I have had two other capable library assistants, Mrs. B. D. Palmer, Jr., and Mrs. H. W. Brodnax, who is the present assistant. For several years, with the N.Y.A. help, the library was open four hours a day. The efficient N.Y.A. girls who worked in the library were Misses Mary Effie Williams, Kathlene Hollingsworth and Pearl Wilson.

Statistics are sometimes interesting, as well as informative, so I shall give a few. The library is now thirteen and a half years old and has 4000 books. Seven Hundred and fifty-three books have been discarded. Each sponsoring club has, during the thirteen years, contributed \$155.00, which includes the initial gift of \$25.00 to the library fund and ten dollars annually. The total library circulation for the thirteen and a half years has been 149,055. The total juvenile circulation has been 73,000. There is something soul satisfying in knowing that little children and big children of Eutaw and Greene County have free access to lovely juvenile literature. As Mr. S. D. Palmer said in his article about the library thirteen years ago: "It is a real and tangible asset for all book lovers and a great educational opportunity, a potential and not enforced benefit." The sponsoring clubs and officials have aided the education of Greene County citizens in the broadest

sense of the word by helping to establish and maintain the Greene County Library.

Because the library is open only three mornings and three afternoons a week, two hours daily, it is inconvenient for school children to get books so boxes of books are sent to each of the grammar school grades except the first grade and the teachers gladly circulate the books among their pupils. One month last spring the grammar school circulation of library books was 560. "If Mohammed won't go to the mountain, the mountain will go to Mohammed." The children read more since library books are sent to their school rooms. The High School children do not read as much now as they did a few years ago when the teachers required more parallel reading and book reports. Only a few of them get books from the library during the winter.

In the early part of my history of the library, I mentioned the anonymous gift of \$1000.00 to the library fund fourteen years ago. Surely it can be told now who it was who so generously aided in the establishment of the library. For a long time only one person knew who the donor was but six years ago, he accidentally let the information out to a few other people—and since it can't really be called a secret now that a few people know it, I'm going to tell who it was. It was Mr. Ward Ingram who was living at New Town, near Eutaw, at that time. His charming wife was a member of the Arts Club and helped solicit funds for the library. She interested her husband in the library cause and he gave the \$1000.00 to the library in memory of his sister who was burned to death that year. Such a beautiful memorial to his sister. His gift forms a part of the library's \$2500.00 endowment fund. The interest from his memorial gift has purchased \$50.00 worth of books annually for the library: books that have brought happiness and information to the young and old, the lonely, the sick, the students and booklovers of Greene County. The Ingrams moved away before the library was but a few months old, but their departing memorial gift left "Foot prints on the sands of time. Foot prints that perhaps another, seeing (reading) may take heart again". How much more enduring this living memorial than one made of marble.

The free Public Library Service in Montgomery has meant a great deal to the Greene County Library. Last year we bor-

rowed from the Public Library Service 183 books, the value of which was \$303.00. Mrs. Lois Rainer Greene, the librarian in charge of that service, is very capable and cooperative and sends us books whenever we request them. Of course, they lend us only the value in books at one time that we purchase annually for our library, but as books are returned, our account is credited with that amount and more books are sent us. Last year we purchased \$154.64 worth of books, so that entitled us to borrow that value in books, but it could be borrowed over and over during the year. The total income for last year was \$423.04. Subtracting the total expenditure of \$333.25, including \$96.00 for endowment fund, from the \$423.04 left a balance of \$89.79 on hand. New books were ordered about that time which used up most of that balance. The assured income of \$50.00 from five clubs and \$117.00 income from the endowment fund, a total of \$167.00, could not support the library, as its annual cost runs around \$333.25. The annual gift from the county of \$100.00 and the annual Library Day collection of about \$100.00 makes it possible to maintain the library on its present standard of service. Of course, some years more books are bought than other years. This year the rebinding of many worn out books at 60c each will be an added expense. We also plan to have some magazines bound.

At the last meeting of the Library Association, Mr. Ed Hood and Mr. W. C. Banks were elected trustees of the Library's \$2500.00 endowment fund.

The library lost two of its most devoted and loyal supporters in the passing of Mrs. Fannie Winston Steele and Mr. J. O. Banks. They were always interested and generous and most appreciative of every evidence of the growth of the young library. They are missed greatly, although the library has many other loyal supporters.

Innumerable visitors from other towns tell us that we have one of the best small town libraries in the state. Greene County is proud of the library, and the sponsoring clubs and the town and county officials should be proud that their tireless, cooperative efforts of fifteen years ago have resulted in an institution we can all point to with pride.

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(Compiled by Judge Walter B. Jones)

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A TIME FOR GREATNESS

Bert Henderson

(Vice-President of the Poetry Society of Alabama and a member of the Poetry Society of America. Recently published book, "House of Paradoxes" went through two editions; now compiling another. have been published in many magazines and poetry journals including "American Mercury", "New York Times", etc. Recently was honorably discharged from the air corps.)

Such a title as "Time For Greatness" as regards the material and aesthetic aspects of poetry may seem a trifle misleading to many of us who are not familiar with the physical struggles that poetry has experienced for so many centuries. Poetry has alternately been a proud and haughty child and an urchin who has run so very often down narrow alleys in search of some new stimulation or experience.

It has progressed and retrogressed to and from many points of vantage in the literary world. It has inspired men of various pursuits to great deeds of valor and achievement, and has quailed before the misinterpretation of its purpose. Poetry has been scorned and ridiculed, loved and revered. But it has always been poetry no matter what its vestments or what approach it has used. The pens of a few have put sinews in poetry and bound it with thongs that are indestructable while others have frayed its loose ends until the entire pattern had no beauty. Yes, poetry has been a child of diverse and often perverse habits, has had its periods of triumph and disillusion.

But now, when the world is a holocaust of blood and death, when people are concerned with all that they hold dear, poetry stands on the threshold of greatness again. It has served its apprenticeship of fire in the cauldron of experimentation, and while the pattern is still chaotic, there can be fused bluer steel and purer gold. Now is the time for poetry to find itself, to emerge from the laboratory with a stronger physical body and a more understandable heart. Now is the potential time for greatness. But poetry cannot be great alone, and there is little need for a thing to grow to greatness unless it can be loved and appreciated.

In general, those who read poetry have vastly different con-

ceptions of what poetry must possess to satisfy the mind and ear. Many are satisfied with pretty words on a rhythmic string that they may be looked at and admired: some like them gaudy and full of color, others desire them plain and of hammered silver. Some of us like emotional poetry that plays on the heart-strings, subjective experiences and personal interpretations, poetry in which they find a personal outlet for their mental yearnings and find expressed in the words of the poet their own feelings and desires. Others like their poetry correlated with the objective world, perhaps with a political implication, a sociological theme or a direct narrative that tells a story. Let us look at both angles for a moment: Poetry has been considered one of the finer arts and has been a vehicle for every type of literary expression. One of the most obvious conflicts in the field of poetry as regards the modern critic is just what poetry should imply in our present-day world and just what its implications are.

Some of our prominent critics aver that poetry has become emasculated during the past generation and that it has lost much of the vigor that it possessed in the days of Hawthorne, Scott, Milton, Shakespeare, and Whitman. They contend that our contemporary poets are altogether too subjective and that they play minor melodies on the poetic harp. They further contend that most present-day poets are too concerned with their own personal emotions and opinions and consequently sing their little songs in a minor, although sometimes pleasing, key. These critics defend the ultra-modernists who, in the words of Laura Riding and Robert Graves, believe: "The whole trend of modern poetry is toward treating poetry like a very sensitive substance which succeeds better when allowed to crystallize by itself than when put into prepared moulds: that is why modern criticism, deprived of its discussions of question and form, tries to replace them by obscure metaphysical reflections". . . . This judgement applies to criticism as a whole today with a few exceptions and have only seemed to make metaphysical reflections less obscure by making them crude, and they have got rid of the sensitive substance only by trying to read into poetry dogmatic subject matters. The technical analysis of verse is no forwarder today than in the age of free-verse. But it is often confused and biased. So many modernists, in my opinion, have resorted to style so totally uncrystallized, so to speak, that the entire poem resembles rather bad prose. Personally, with so many adept prose writers who write interestingly today

I would certainly choose to read my poetry by the paragraph rather than listen to non-correlated recital that presumes to be poetry. But perhaps I am being rather harsh. Many of our so-called modernists are adept and concise in what they endeavor to portray and are worth listening to. I must omit Gertrude Stein and T. S. Eliot. I, for one, do not like superficial poetry.

But let us review for a moment a few of the late modern poets and see if you agree with me as regards several of our late versifiers who have endeavored to find an entirely new medium or vehicle for their expressions in poetry. Mr. Lawrence Whistler, one of our most successful poets in the experimental field, in his third volume, "The Emporer Heart", comes highly recommended by no less a poet than John Masefield, for whom these verses are "unlike the writing of any other" and "occupied with beauty". That is a pleasant subject to be occupied with. But I have a distinct impression, gleaned from the casual study of his book, that Whistler's beauty is more local, in time and place, than Mr. Masefield's phrase would seem to allow it to be. The beauty seems to be pre-war English Georgian and to exist in the innocent notations of the pretty park in which rural England, the corn, the wind, the spring, and the sheep, to say nothing of the distant manor house, nicely indicated but not quite realized in a rhythm or imagery that we have seen before. . . . But the evil times have marked Mr. Whistler! There is here and there a taint of the wierd metaphysical style:

O put my arms about the vernal waist
And close my eyes upon the immortal womb,
Rest, rest, distracted frame, against the core
Of all the darkening world that is your home

But Mr. Whistler was not always uncomfortable:

I went out in the gusty dark
To see how the long corpse would look,
But had not thought the moon was whirling
Mottled-white like a new shilling.

We have many moderns who may or may not have materially contributed to the growth of poetry and assured its future in the decade to come. Of course we have Gertrude Stein with her "A

Rose Is A Rose Is A Rose", and we have T. S. Elliot. We have Archibald McLeish who would never have predicted that he would become executive librarian of the Library of Congress, and a recognized voice of government. A champion of the advance guard in literature, he admitted originality wherever he found it. Before he achieved his own idiom he experimented with every modern device and never grudged to pay tribute to his successors. . . . The chief characteristic of McLeish' poetry is its employment of old devices for new ends. Alliteration and assonance take on fresh value in his vivid lines; brusque phrases alternating with long suspended sentences create a surprising tension. I take McLeish as an example because he has not seemed to forget that poetry has always stood for beauty, rhythm, form and assonance. He has remembered that poetry should appeal to the mind and heart and should express material yearnings in various ways. But still he has not been satisfied with the regular patterns and has endeavored to conceive new ways of expressing his thoughts in verse. In other words, he has contrived to find a new language and has become an interpreter of the spirit which animates poetry. Take this excerpt from a recent essay:

"In that great unfinished definition of poetry in which Aristotle distinguished poetry from history he said: 'History draws things that have happened, but poetry things that might possibly happen'."

Here is an example:

IMMORTAL AUTUMN

I speak this poem now with grave and level voice
In praise of autumn of the far-horn-winding fall
I praise the flower-barren fields the clouds of tall
Unanswering branches where the wind makes sullen noise

I praise the Fall it is the human season now
No more the foreign sun does meddle our earth
Enforce the green and thaw the frozen soil to birth
Nor Winter yet weigh all the silence the pine bough

But now in Autumn with the black and outcast crows
Share we the spacious world the whispering year is gone
There is more room to live now the once secret dawn
Comes late by daylight and the dark unguarded goes. . .

Between the mutinous burning of the leaves
And Winter's covering of our hearts with his deep snow
We are alone there are no evening birds we know
The naked moon the tame stars circle at our eaves

To interrupt for a moment our discussion of the modern poets let us cite an example from John Masfield who spoke so highly of Mr. Whistler and whose poetry is so vastly different in texture and meaning. . . Not so much in meaning perhaps but in the medium in which it is expressed. Many of you know

SEA FEVER

I must go down to the seas again, to the lovely sea and the sky.
And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by.
And the wheels and the wind's song and the white sails shaking.
And a gray mist on the sea's face and a gray dawn breaking.

I must go down to the seas again, for the call of the running tide
Is a wild call and a clear call that cannot be denied;
And all I ask is a windy day with the white clouds flying.
And the flung spray and the blown spume, and the sea-gulls
crying.

I must go down to the seas again to the vagrant gypsy life,
To the gull's way and the whale's way where the wind's like a
whetted knife.
And all I ask is a merry yarn from a laughing fellow rover.
And quiet sleep and a sweet dream when the long trick's over.

But Masfield was not always so rhythmic or proaic. In his thirties he excited readers with a series of narrative poems and rhymed yarns about "common characters" who suffered violently, sinned and reformed, and mixed profanity with ecstasy.

We might go on talking about ultra-moderns for quite a long while (my idea of a "modern" being one who tries to inject a virus in the veins of poetry that will make the subject catch the attention of the reading public so they will listen to a treatise of the author's own merits.) But I am very much pleased that we still have in this country and in England certain poets who love the art for what it can give and who have not conceived too perverted an idea of what poetry has done and what it can do. Many of them have experimented from time to time but have usually come back for their own personal pleasure and understanding to the established forms.

In my opinion, a poem is nothing but a short short story in miniature. It must have a plot or an idea of a certain definite picture or emotion, confined in a certain meter, rhyme scheme or pattern. It may be the picture of an emotion, a finite character, a personal experience, an opinion. It may either be objective or subjective, free verse, rhymed verse, a sonnet, quatrain or narrative. It may be long or short. But I think the fundamental requisite of all poetry is thought. And it must not only please the writer, it must please the reader, also.

Let us take the last period, for example, of poetry that covers a limited period, so we may, in some measure, get a sort of background of the possibilities of poetry that is more or less contemporary. Let us take the period from the Georgian era in English poetry to the present time and discuss for a moment the verse from the last war, and disregard the influences leading up to now.

The reality of the great war came slowly into English poetry. After the spate of patriotic verse at the beginning of the war, ranging from the crude drum-beating of the journalistic poets from the meditations on the English country-life of the Georgians there appeared, slowly, indications of a more realistic attitude. In 1916-17 in the volume of Georgian poetry appeared three war poems by Wilfred Wilson Gibson (whose war poetry, while standing apart from the rest of his work, is not dissimilar in quality) where for the first time something of the truth is told. In level, even tones concealing an irony more controlled but no more less effective than that of Sigfried Sassoon, he describes single incidents:

I felt a sudden wrench—
A trickle of warm blood—
And found that I was sprawling in the mud
Among the dead men in the trench.

Or, as in the poem, Lament, also in the volume, he rejects the facile consolation which has sufficed John Freeman in his "Happy Is England Now":

We who are left, how shall we look again
Happily on the sun or feel the rain. . . .?
A bird among the rain-wet lilac sings—
But we, how shall we turn to the little things,
And listen to the birds and wind and streams
Made holy by their dreams,
Nor feel the heartbreak in the heart of things?

In the same volume of Georgian poetry in which Gibson's three war poems appeared there were also printed several of Sigfried Sassoon's war poems. Sassoon was the first English poet to rebel against the older tradition of war poetry, and he was one of the few poets who expressed this mood continually and violently

while the war was still in progress. The ironic note in his verse is not subdued, as it is in Gibson, but emphasized and shouted out loud. The poems published in the Georgian volume were more restrained than his verse published independently in *The Old Huntsman* (1917) and *Counterattack*, but his characteristic tone is clearly heard:

This leaves me in the pink.
Then scrawled his name: 'Your loving sweetheart, Willie'
With crosses for a hug. He'd had a drink
Of rum and tea: and, though the barn was chilly,
For once his blood ran warm: he had pay to spend.

And then he thought: tomorrow night we trudge
Up to the trenches and my boots are rotten.
Five miles of freezing clay and freezing sludge,
And everything but wretchedness forgotten.
Tonight he's in the pink, but soon he'll die,
And still the war goes on: he don't know why.

Unlike Gibson, Sasoon continually expresses the underlying feeling that someone is to blame for it all, perhaps the smug civilians who cheer when troops march on their way to embarkation, perhaps the "Scarlet Majors At The Base", who, "When the war is done and youth stone dead", will "Toddle safely home and die in bed". There is terrible indignation here but its direction is confused.

The quietest of all war poems were written by Edward Blunden, who saw the war against the background of daily pastoral life which it had interrupted (a mood also in Gibson) and recorded with patient fidelity what he observed in these moments, as, for example, in "*A Farm Near Zillebeke*":

I stood in the yard of a house that must die,
And still the wood was stacked by the door,
And harness hung there and the dray waited by,
Black clouds hid the moon and tears blinded me more.

Blunden had no indignation, no wish to denounce. His dominant mood is simply one of sorrow, enhanced by the continual impingement on the present situation of pre-war memories of life and growth of peace. He is one of the few English poets who

have achieved some success in carrying the mood of the Georgians into the post-war world. But his verse lacks vitality: it solves no problems, achieves of that quick cutting to the heart of things which some of his younger contemporaries, using a more difficult and more complex dialectic, have on occasions managed. The meditations of a sensitive, yet in some respects, and academic mind, his work does not achieve the vision which shifting and worn-out medium demanded, and as a result most of his poems lack the burning core and complete integration which we find in the poetry of those poets who, wresting language to meet the urgency of their own problems, by being modern produce what will nevertheless have meaning and vitality for future generations.

Perhaps the best of all poetry produced as a result of the war was written by Wilfred Owen, who was born in 1893, three years before Blunden, and was killed on November 4, 1918, exactly a week before the armistice, while endeavoring to get his company across the Sambre Canal. Before the war he had begun his career as a poet largely under the influence of Keats. But at this stage he was simply experimenting with the ways of handling language, learning his craft, disciplining himself. His war experiences found him with no preconceived attitude; he was honest both as a man and as a poet, and he waited to see what the war would mean to him and his poetry. He brought all his powers of poetic expression, still at the experimental stage, to his endeavor to find and express the real meaning of the situation in which he found himself. He moved slowly from description to interpretation, his earlier war poetry being concerned with adequate expression of the later facts in some symbolic and significant pattern. . . .

It is not easy to see what Owens meant in the hastily written draft of a preface. He seems to be saying that his war poems are not concerned with any of the subjects conventionally associated nor is he concerned with mere poetizing, in the manner of many Georgians. When he says that poetry is not fit to speak of heroes he seems to mean that the real nature of the heroism called forth by the war could not be adequately expressed in any of the traditional ways nor in the poetic medium in its present state, the truth was difficult to discover and even more difficult to communicate. When he asserts that "above all, I am not concerned with poetry", he is obviously free of any self-conscious aesthetic aim: he is concerned in expressing adequately the truth as he saw it,

as he had experienced it, and, for him, adequately implied poetically. "My subject is war and the pity of war. The poetry is in the pity." Indicates the meaning of the war experience, as he had come to grasp it, lies in its sheer pity, its futility, its waste. By expressing that truth his poetry might become a warning. But it could have no other moral. For himself, he was expressing the essential reality of the situation as he saw it, and that was his whole aim. If in achieving this aim he also achieved a propagandist effect in the sense that truth carries its own message, he could not repudiate the effect or deny that he had foreseen it. Here is an example of Owen's calmer kind of interpretation:

Whether his deeper sleep lie shaded by the shaking
Of great wings, and the thoughts that hung like stars, -
High—pillowed on calm pillows of God's making
Above these clouds
Or whether yet this thin and sodden head
Confuses more and more with the low mould,
His hair being one with the grey grass
And finished fields of autumn that are old
Who knows? Who hopes? Who troubles? Let it pass!
He sleeps. He sleeps less tremulous, less cold
Than we who must awake, and waking, say alas!

Owen's progress was not, however, a simple one from satiric to contemplative war poems. The violent anger that breaks through "*Mental Cases*", "*Disabled*" and other poems is that of a man who has not resigned himself to express merely the pity of war, but who is equally anxious to convey its horror, its terror, and its cruelty. But in the midst we find more disciplined verse sounding a profounder note.

The theatres of war have changed in the present conflict and war poetry has changed, too. In this war there is no flag waving and the poetry has a grim and realistic outlook. Many of our better known younger poets are now in the service and what they witness and experience will doubtless determine the type of poetry they will write. Here are two examples, one of my own:

REMEMBER US

We are the nameless, the impotent ghosts
Who once were sinew and blood and bone—
We are the chosen who drank a toast
From a leaden cup, who lie alone
In the tangled depths of a jungle maze
Only Remember . . . do not praise.

Remember us whose blood and sweat
Has stained the sands on a desert floor—
We are the missing who paid the debt
That countless numbers have paid before
That lamps of freedom should brightly burn.
Remember Us . . . we shall not return.

Remember us who have rimmed the skies
In our silver ships in the dark of night—
We are the phantoms with empty eyes
Who rode with death on a final flight
To oblivion in a sea of flame.
Remember Us. . . who bear no name.

Remember us whose blood will be
Red wine in the cup of Victory.
REMEMBER US!

—Bert Henderson.

HIGH FLIGHT

Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of earth
And danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings;
Sunward I've climbed, and joined the tumbling mirth
Of sun-split clouds,—and done a hundred things
You have not dreamed of—wheeled and soared and swung
High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring there,
I've chased the shouting wind along, and flung
My eager craft through footless halls of air. . . .

Up, up the long delirious, burning blue
I've topped the wind-swept heights with easy grace,
Where never lark, or even eagle flew—
And, while with silent, lifting mind I've trod
The high untrespassed sanctity of space,
Put out my hand and touched the face of God.

P/O John Magee, RAF

Archibald McLeish says, regarding another trenchant aspect of poetry today:

"There is a very good reason why the relation of poetry to political revolution should interest our generation. Poetry to most people stands for the intensely personal life of the individual spirit. Political stands for the the intensely public life of a society in which the individual spirit must, but must not make its peace. The relation between the two implies a conflict our generation understands, the conflict between the personal life of one man and the impersonal life of many men."

But there is no very good reason why our generation should interest itself in the talk about this conflict which now fills the poetry journals. The believers in many men say that poetry should be a part of political revolution. The believers in one man say that poetry should have no truck with political revolution. Neither position is interesting. The real reason is not whether poetry should have to do with political revolution or whether it shouldn't. The real question is whether poetry is such a nature, that poetry *can* have to do with political revolution. For it may be said that poetry *should* do this, or should not do that only when it is meant that poetry can do this or cannot do that; poetry has no other laws than the laws of its own nature.

The only intelligent discussion of the question, therefore, is a discussion in terms of poetry, and of the nature of poetry. It is a discussion which should begin with what the nature of poetry is and specifically whether poetry is, by its nature, an art or whether it is of some other nature. For if poetry is an art, then the limitations of poetry are of a different kind.

Much has been written on the subject and much has been said by men of many generations who have published books or talked in evenings or on roads walking or at other times. There are those on the other hand who say that poetry cannot become an art because it is something more than an art, being a kind of revelation of truth or beauty or goodness. To these people it is clear that poetry can have no relation to political revolution, because political revolution is outside in the air and sky and not inside their spirit where poetry can reveal it. There are those on the other hand who say that poetry cannot be an art because poetry is something less than an art, being nothing but another way of writing that can also be written in prose. To these people poetry can have nothing to say about political revolution, because prose can say it better. There are, finally, those who say that poetry is neither something more than art or less than art, but simply an art. To these last, poetry has to do with political revolution; otherwise no. But though there are three possible opinions, and though all three of these opinions are held by numerous and respectable people, all three are not of equal value. The opinion, for example, that art is an opinion widely taught in schools and broadly held among English-speaking people. But it is an opinion difficult for readers of poetry to credit, for it leads to definitions like the definition offered recently by an English poetress, that a poem is "an uncovering truth of—by so fundamental and general a kind that no other name besides poetry is adequate except truth". Poetry, in other words, is not the poem itself, but some contend the poem makes available, as a bank check makes available a sum of money. It is a truth which the poem reveals as a boy in a fairy story discovered a giant's heart in the duck's egg in the church well on the lake isle. The trouble with this definition of poetry is that it applies to certain poems only. There are poems in which an "uncovering of truth" occurs. Some of them are good poems. Many are written by women. But not all poems are of this kind. In Homer, for example, there is not only an "uncovering of truth"; there are also descriptions of the shapes of men, animals and the color of water and the revengefulness of the gods. And the greatest poems in all languages are remembered not for their messages but for themselves.

Art, therefore, is not selective. It is catholic. There are certain experiences which are not for art and certain other experiences which are not for art. Any experience, whether of violence or

contemplation of sensuality or of wonder or disgust, of which the spirit demands recognition may be brought to the labor of art. And if this is the true of all art it is true also of that form of art which is poetry. There are not certain kinds of experiences that are proper for poetry: nor, conversely, are the experiences which poetry makes recognizable experiences peculiar to poetry alone. . . . The experience which poetry makes recognizable may be the experience of anything. It may be, as it has most frequently been in the practice of art, the experience of love or the idea of God or death or of beauty—the, always and in each generation, newly astonishing beauty of this world. But it may also be, as it has often been, a very different experience. It may be any experience whatever which requires for its intensity the intensity of the poetic line, the shock of the poetic association, the compression of the poetic statement, the incantation of the poetic word. It may be an experience of which the intensity is so great that only a corresponding intensity of order can give it shape, as the tension of flight gives form and beauty to the beating of wings.

Poetry is to violent emotion what the crystal is to the condensing salt or the equation of laborious thinking—release, identity, and rest. What words cannot do as words because they can only speak, what rhythm and sound cannot do as rhythm and sound because they have no speech, poetry can do because its sound and its speech are a single incantation. Only poetry can produce the absorption of the reasoning mind, the release from the listening nature, the solutions of the deflections and distractions of the surfaces of sense, by which intense experience is admitted, recognized and known. Only poetry can present the closest and therefore least visible experiences of men in such form that, reading, they say, "yes, . . . yes, it is like that . . . that is what it is truly like."

The public world has become with us the private world and the private world has become the public. We see our private and individual lives in terms of the public and numerous lives of those who live beside us, and the lives of those who live beside us in terms of lives we thought once were our own. We live, that is to say, in a revolutionary time.

There is, therefore, if poetry is an art, no religious rule, no political dogma, which excludes from poetry the political experience of men. There is only a question. Is the political experience of

our time an experience which requires for its intensity the intensity of poetry? And is the political experience of our time an experience and immediate and intense as are the experiences to which poetry, and poetry alone, can give shape and order and recognition?

Certainly there was a time in the lives of those of us who are no longer young where political experience was neither close or personal nor in any meaning of the word intense. Political experiences in the years before the war was external experience which made no part of the personal lives of men but was rather like a game or diversion or contest. A man lived in his house, and his street and his friends, and politics were elsewhere. The public world was the public world and the private world was the private world. Poetry at that time concerned itself with the private world. When it dealt with the public world it dealt with it in private terms, presenting, for example, the public problem of the state in terms of the private mystery of kingship. Either that or it surrendered its rights as poetry and entered the political service of the government as did Kipling and the poets of the British Empire School.

But that it was true thirty years ago that the public world was the public world and the private world was the private world, and because it was true thirty years ago that poetry in its quality of poetry had very little traffic with the public world, it does not follow that either is true today. Indeed the evidence not only of our own eyes but of those who speak to us with authority tells us that what was true thirty years ago is not now true but the contrary of the truth. Thomas Mann says to us that whereas twenty years ago at the time he wrote his "Reflections of an Unpoliticalman" he opposed political activity with all his power in the name of freedom and culture, he had now come to see that "the German Bourgeoisie had erred in thinking that a man could remain unpolitical. . . That the political and social are parts of the human; they belong to the totality of human problems and must be drawn into the whole". We, too, have begun to see this. We, too, have begun to know that the public world is no longer on one side and the private world on the other.

Indeed the public world with us has become the private world and the private world has become the public. We see our private individual lives in terms of the public and numerous lives of those who live beside us, and we can see the lives of those who live

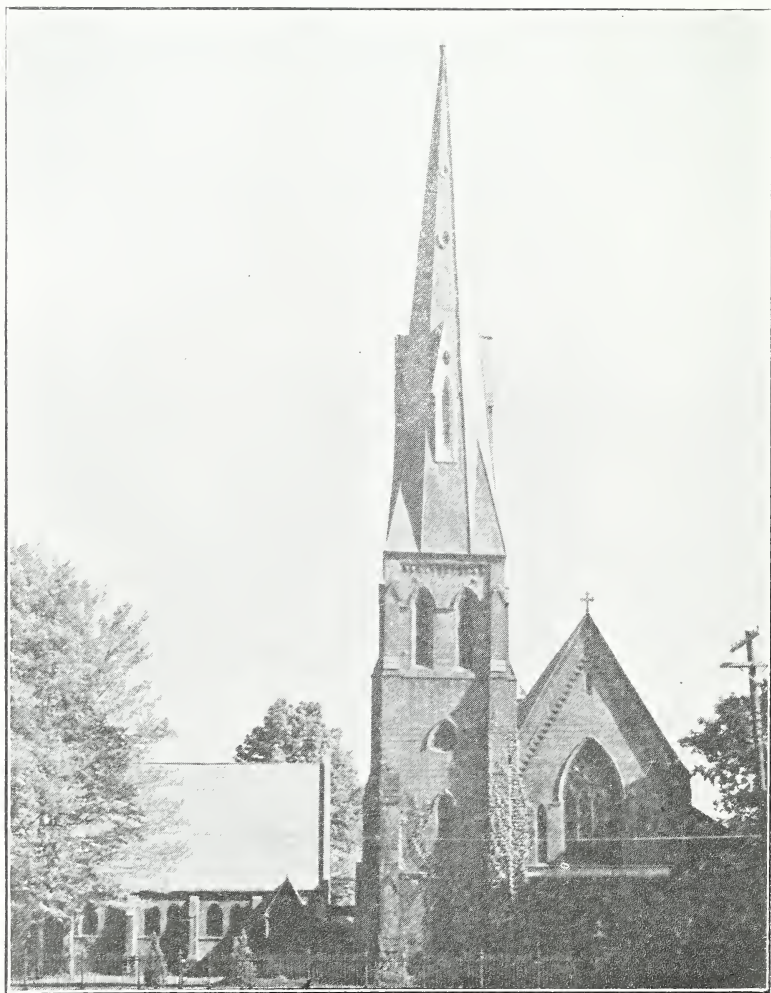
beside us, in terms of the lives we once thought were our own. We live, that is to say, in a revolutionary time in which the public life has washed over the dikes of private existence as sea water breaks over the fresh pools in the spring tides till everything is salt. The world of private experience has become the world of crowds and streets and armies and mobs. The world of many men crowding man, of every lonely walker, the self-searcher, the single figure staring by night into mirrors, into stars. The single individual, whether he so wishes or not, has become a part of the world which contains also Austria and Czechoslovakia and China and Spain. The resistance of tyrants and the resistance of peoples halfway around the world are as near to him as the ticking of the clock on the mantel. What happens in his morning paper happens in his blood all day and, . . . names as close to him as the names by which he counts his dearest losses.

This we know to be true to our own knowledge. And since we know it to be true, we also know the answer to the question we have asked. If our life as members of society, which is to say our public life, which is to say our political life, has become a life which moves us to personal indignation, which fills us with personal fear, which suggests to us also private hopes, we have no choice but to say that our experiences of this life are experiences of intense and personal emotion, that they are such experiences as poetry can make recognizable, such experiences as perhaps poetry alone can make recognizable.

But if we know this to be true, the whole question of the relation of poetry to political revolution is a different question from the question commonly discussed. The real wonder is not the wonder that poetry can deal so much with the public world which concerns it so little. The real wonder is that poetry can deal so little with a public world which concerns it so much. What requires explanation is not the fact that a few contemporary poets have attempted to give poetic order to the political experience of our time, but the fact that no contemporary poet has yet succeeded in that effort, the fact that no contemporary poet has yet presented to us, in the personal and universal terms of poetry, our generations' experience of the political world. Some of the greatest, Yeats most notably, have touched it. But not even Yeats has presented the contemporary experiences of the political world as experience, in terms of experience, so related, in such words,

with such implications both of meaning and of sense, that we have recognized for what it is. Not even Yeats has done what poetry must do—what poetry has, in other periods, done.

But now is really a potential time for greatness. Even with political upheavals, the holocaust of blood and terror that we call war, the dubious trends of ultra-moderns, the experimenting and the emotional instability but fuse into the pattern of poetry a new strength and beauty. The threads of poetry are tenuous but pliable and the tapestry that can be woven during the present decade can be a beautiful and lasting one. Now is a time for greatness. Poetry will find itself.



Century old Episcopal Church of the Nativity, Huntsville, Alabama

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

Episcopal, Huntsville, Ala.

(A reprint from the program issued by the Church on its Centennial Anniversary, 1843-1943.)

The first officially recorded item which indicated any interest in an Episcopal Church in Huntsville is found in the journal of the Convention of the Diocese of Alabama, held in Tuscaloosa on January 3, 1831. The item reads as follows:

"William Acklin and James Penn, Esqs., of Huntsville appeared and produced satisfactory credentials of their appointment to this Convention as lay delegates. They took their seats accordingly."

One year later at the Diocesan Convention, held also in Tuscaloosa, these same gentlemen appeared and submitted a communication from the "Vestry and Wardens of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Huntsville" pointing out the fact that "the present is the most Auspicious time for the commencement of a church in our town" and "that each day of delay detracts from the numbers of citizens who might become members of our congregation." The communication was signed by B. S. Pope, Sam Brech, R. Lee Fearn, W. Clarke and John Brahan.

These records indicate that a group of Huntsville citizens considered themselves to be an Episcopal congregation. But one wonders about the credentials of these gentlemen as official delegates. Huntsville was not at that time an officially recognized mission station. There was no church building. As far as can be ascertained, there were no services conducted by a clergyman. Although there was an interested group in Huntsville, and some members of that group were called the Vestry and Wardens of the Church, the congregation had no official status in the Diocese and no legal organization.

THE FIRST SERIOUS EFFORT

However, two years later, Huntsville was made an object of missionary endeavor by the Board of Domestic Missions of the

National Church. The Rev. John Murray Robertson, a priest from the Diocese of North Carolina, was sent to Huntsville, on March 7, 1834, to begin missionary work in this territory.

TROUBLE WITH THE LAW AND THE STAGE

The Rev. Mr. Robertson and the congregation had a hard time finding a place to worship. For a short time the services were held in the Court House, but legal authorities objected to the use of the Court House for religious purposes. Next, a theatre on East Clinton Street was borrowed. But the congregation was dispossessed by a company of actors. Finally, the Masonic Lodge Room was procured, and services were continued in that building until the end of the year 1835. It was during the Lodge Room period that the first bishop made a visitation in Huntsville. The Rt. Rev. James H. Otey made the trip from the neighboring Diocese of Tennessee and confirmed Miss Henrietta Brown, who was a teacher in the Huntsville Seminary.

DISCOURAGING TIMES

Mr. Robertson had a most disheartening experience with his congregation. It is recorded that "the missionary experienced little sympathy; and finding that nothing was done toward erecting a church or providing for a minister, he retired at the close of 1835 to his plantation in Jackson County." For seven years no further effort was made to organize a parish. One wonders what became of those gentlemen who had expressed themselves as so keenly interested in the establishment of a church. It is not recorded that any delegates attended the Diocesan Conventions during those years. Episcopal Church life in Huntsville went to sleep.

ANOTHER START

Finally two clergymen visited Huntsville in December, 1842, and through their efforts a meeting of the Episcopalians was held and an organization of a parish effected on December 17th. Mr. George P. Beirne presided at the meeting, and, in addition to himself, there were elected on the Vestry the following men: Henry M. Robertson, John Ogden, James Penn, and J. Withers Clay. The Parish was named the "Church of the Nativity" because of the approaching Christmas season.

BEGINNING OF OFFICIAL LIFE

A Church is not an Episcopal Church until it is received into a Diocese under the authority of the Bishop. So the official life of the Parish began when a delegation from the newly elected Vestry attended the Diocesan Convention in May, 1843, and asked that the Church of the Nativity in Huntsville be received into the Diocese. Of course the request was acceded to, and shortly thereafter the Vestry elected as the first Rector of the Church, the Rev. F. H. Laird, who arrived to take up his duties in November. The Parish was not self-supporting at this time. The Board of Domestic Missions of the National Church assisted in the maintenance of Mr. Laird. This Rector also found difficulty in the matter of securing a place for worship. The Presbyterians lent their church building for the first services. Then the congregation worshipped for a while in the schoolroom of Mrs. Jane L. Childs. And then, the Church seeming to be on some better terms with the Law, the U. S. District Court Room in the basement of the Court House was secured as a place to worship. During Mr. Laird's rectorship in 1845, the lot at the corner of Eustis and Green Streets was bought from John Y. Bassett for \$500.00, and the construction of a church building was begun. But Mr. Laird resigned in 1846. He never conducted a service in the new church for which he planned.

NEW RECTOR — DAYS OF PROGRESS

In 1847 the Rev. Henry C. Lay, of the Diocese of Virginia, was elected Rector. After a few more months of services in the Court House, the church building being completed, the congregation first worshipped there in August of 1847. Within the same month the Vestry declared the Church to be self-supporting and thereafter no missionary funds were used for the support of a minister in Huntsville.

The Rev. Mr. Lay served as Rector for twelve years. Those twelve years prove themselves to have been the period of greatest progress that the Church of the Nativity ever experienced in so short a time. It is stated in the records that at the time Mr. Lay came to Huntsville as the Rector, there were but twelve communicants actually resident or available, and of that twelve there was only one male member. No doubt there were a number of in-

interested members of the congregation who had not been confirmed and were not listed officially as communicants. At that time, apparently, it was not required that a vestryman be a communicant of the Church.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

During Mr. Lay's rectorship, the Church, realizing that for many years it had been an object of the missionary interest of others, set out to repay that debt in some measure by engaging upon missionary activities. In 1851 the congregation began to furnish half the support of the Rev. T. A. Morris who was a missionary in this section of the Tennessee valley. Mr. Lay came to Huntsville as a deacon, and he left twelve years later as a bishop, having been elected Missionary Bishop of the Southwest by the General Convention of the Church held at Richmond in 1859.

During Mr. Lay's rectorship the membership grew so fast that it was necessary to plan for a new building. When Bishop Lay severed his connection with this Parish in 1859 he left the present church building as an inspiring memorial to his labors.

The Church purchased a Rectory on Green Street, opposite the present church building, during that time. A Parish school was established. All debts were paid with the exception of \$2,606, which was still owed on the new church structure. As is so often the fate of ministers, he was not privileged long to enjoy the fruits of his labors. The first service was conducted in the present building on Easter-Even, 1859. It was the following November that Bishop Lay moved away to administer his new jurisdiction,—“the Southwest.” He wrote humbly of himself; “The Rector has ministered regularly to this people, with less success than he could desire, with infinitely more than he has deserved.”



Interior, Church of the Nativity

THE CHURCH BUILDING

It is a matter of amazement to many of us that a building of such size and great beauty could have been built by the members so soon after the founding of the Parish. The record is quite clear as to how it was done. The money was raised by subscription among the members. Sixty-three members made cash contributions amounting to \$29,291.93. The individual amounts noted range from \$4,000 to \$10.00. Trinity Church, Wilmington, Delaware, sent a contribution of \$25.00. Other money was obtained from the sale of some property. The total cost of the church building and furnishings amounted to \$37,565.13. Every cent of this was paid with the exception of \$2,606.00 by 1861. It seems that the balance of \$2,606 was the chief topic of discussion at the Vestry meetings for many years thereafter. A glance around the church at the names inscribed on the windows tells of many families prominent in the congregation in those early days.

THE PATRIARCH

It was in July, 1860, that the Rev. John Munro Banister, of Greensboro, Alabama, was called to be the Rector. It is understood that when Mr. Banister came to Huntsville from Greensboro, the Rev. Richard Hooker Cobbs, who had been Mr. Lay's assistant, and who was in temporary charge of the Parish, moved to Greensboro to be the Rector there. Dr. Banister is thought of by the members of the Parish as the Patriarch. He was rector for forty-six years, and rector-emeritus for nearly two years. All through the trying days of the War between the States, he administered the affairs of the Parish. Many lived and died and knew no other minister but Dr. Banister. During the War, in Dr. Banister's time, it is related that when Huntsville was occupied by Union soldiers, a non-commissioned officer of the Union forces was instructed to seize the church and use it for a stable. When the force arrived to take possession it was brought to an abrupt halt before the door. Above the door were inscribed on the marble slab the words: "Reverence My Sanctuary." When that inscription was reported to the commanding officer, he ordered that the church be not molested. For a period in 1864 the church was closed by order of the commanding general, and the Rector was ordered to cross the river and remain within the Confederate lines.

During Dr. Banister's rectorship we note some interesting changes. Another Rectory was purchased on Adams Avenue and the old one sold. At the time of the building of the new church the source of all the income for the support of the Parish was the renting of the pews. On the Monday after Easter every year the members would bid for the pews. No offerings were taken during the services until 1864 when the Rector was requested by the Vestry to announce that an offering would be taken on every Sunday. That system lasting until 1903. It was at that time the Vestry considered it wise to abolish pew rents as a method of Church support, and instead, to raise the budget by annual subscription.

The original church building was sold to the Colored Methodist Church in 1878 for \$700.00. The structure was razed at that time and the materials used to construct the Colored Methodist Church building which still stands on North Jefferson Street.

In 1886 the present chapel was completed—a gift from Mrs. Wilson Cary Bibb as a memorial to her husband, Wilson Cary Bibb.

At the time of Dr. Banister's resignation in 1905, he became Rector-Emeritus. With his death in 1907 a long and dearly remembered chapter in the life of the Parish was brought to a close.

TWO SHORT TERM RECTORS

The next Rector was the Rev. Willoughby N. Claybrook. Mr. Claybrook came to Huntsville from Tyler, Texas, to be the assistant to Dr. Banister in 1904. When Dr. Banister resigned "because of continued age infirmities" in 1905, Mr. Claybrook was elected Rector in his place. Mr. Claybrook was a young man of great energy and initiative, but he did not remain long as Rector. He resigned in 1907 to assume the duties of missionary in the Diocese.

Succeeding Mr. Claybrook as Rector there came to Huntsville the Rev. Alexander C. McCabe, Ph. D., who assumed his duties in July, 1907. Dr. McCabe resigned in 1909.

MR. GAMBLE

After Dr. McCabe's resignation the Vestry called the Rev. Cary Gamble from the Diocese of Virginia to be the Rector of the Parish. Mr. Gamble took up his residence in Huntsville on July 1, 1909. One thing that attracted Mr. Gamble to Alabama was the fact that his twin brother was at that time Rector of St. Paul's Church, Selma. Both clergymen continued their faithful ministries in Huntsville and Selma, respectively, until the time of their retirement from the active ministry. During Mr. Gamble's rectorship, a rectory on Franklin Street was purchased. During this period it was increasingly apparent that there was not sufficient space on the church properties for the Sunday School and other activities of the Parish. And so, in 1912, the store building which adjoined the church lot on Eustis Street was bought and converted into a Parish House. Mr. Gamble retired in 1938, and, since that time, he has been of great service in the Diocese doing supply work wherever he was needed. Mr. Gamble is the only living former Rector of the Church of the Nativity. It is with a great deal of

pleasure that we welcome here today this faithful and fearless servant of God who was the spiritual leader of the Parish for more than a quarter of the Century of its existence.

THE PRESENT

The Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne, of Macon, Georgia, was next called to be the Rector. Mr. Claiborne began his ministry in Huntsville on September 1, 1938. During his rectorship a new rectory has been built on McClung Street, on a beautiful lot which has housed the Rectors of the Parish in the last one hundred years.

It is seen from this brief sketch that there are a great many things in the history of the past One Hundred years of which the Church of the Nativity may be justly proud. The Church has taken its place as a spiritual force in the community. It has assumed its responsibilities in the affairs of the Diocese. It is generously supporting the missionary work of the Church at home and abroad. There are at this time on the official communicant list 325 names. Some of our members no longer live in Huntsville, but for reasons of strong sentiment wish to keep their names on the register as communicants. Some of them are attending schools and colleges. Many of them are serving in the armed forces of the Nation. There are many factors that make us feel that the future holds great progress in store for the Church of the Nativity.

THE FUTURE

With humble hearts, let us all resolve that during the next One Hundred years our chief aim will be the unselfish serving of our Heavenly Father in grateful thanksgiving that He has blessed us with so fine a heritage. At the time of the Nativity of our Lord two thousand years ago, God revealed Himself in human form. Living true to the name of our Church our purpose rightfully will be the revealing of God's goodness, God's mercy and God's love in the daily life we live. Insofar as we are true to that purpose, then, we, too, will be instruments of God's blessing. In our own Parish life and fellowship we will find a foretaste of His Kingdom.

A PILGRIMAGE TO MOUND STATE PARK

Moundville, Alabama

By Rev. Peerce N. McDonald, Montgomery, Ala.

(Dr. McDonald is Rector of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension and compiled this paper to be read at The Thirteen, of which he is a member.)

Some time ago it was my privilege to go with a company of friends to inspect the Indian mounds at Moundville, Ala. and so interesting did that trip prove that I have decided to share its experiences with the members of The Thirteen. Not many of us are making pilgrimages just now because of war conditions but no doubt all would be interested in what is to be seen and learned at this great historical place.

We went by car by way of Selma and Greensboro, a trip of about 120 miles one way but the ride was so attractive that you were not conscious of the distances covered. It would be possible now to go over the new route to Tuscaloosa, via Centerville and in that way to shorten the distance somewhat. Our trip was in May at a time when the country side was wonderfully green and luxuriant. For miles we rode thro' great fields of primroses in their varying colors of pink and white, while the swampy places along the road were purple with wild verbenas. Even the fence rows added their beauty to the landscape for through the Black Belt we passed great hedges of wild cherokee roses in bloom while here and there the china berry trees added their beauty and fragrance to the scene.

By accident we came to the Park at a most propitious time, because not only was nature clothed in her most attractive colors, but the very day we were there had been taken by the school authorities of Moundville to put on a pageant illustrating some of the history of the original inhabitants of that area. How incongruous it was to see the white children of this century seeking to portray something of the dress, the manners and the customs of that ancient people. Their pageant was built about the passing of the Mound builders and the coming of the red Indians. In a single

an impressive way they showed these people visiting for the last time these mounds which they had built and were so sacred to them before they finally fled southward before the more war like Indians.

After the Juniors had put on their pageant we were allowed to sit in at a very informal meeting of the Senior Class and to learn from them something of the history of these interesting people who left this remarkable monument to their civilization here in our state. The teacher was evidently a very capable one. Knowing the children's interest in these mounds she had taken them as a subject for a project and had built much of their research about the place and its history.

As the day was warm we did not go into the class room but met out under a big china berry tree which was in full bloom at the time and at times the hum of the bees in their search for honey almost drown-out the voices of the young people. In talking with the teacher and asking her many questions about the mounds and their builders, she said "May be you would like to sit in with us and hear the different students give in their own words the story of this place and its people."

When we were all comfortably seated she said "To correctly understand this place you have to know something of the events that led up to the building of the mounds". Turning to one of young men she said "Charles can you tell us something about the researches of the T V A along the Tennessee River". Charles did not seem at all embarrassed by having older persons present, but in a simple and straight-forward way told his story somewhat in the manner following:—

In 1932 when it was decided to build a chain of dams along the Tennessee River, before the work was done a group of scientific men were assembled at Knoxville to see what could be done about preserving the archeological remains that were so prevalent in that region. In the first place a thorough search was made of the region which would be flooded by the building of the dams, an accurate map was made by Dr. Walter B. Jones of the University of Alabama with funds provided by the National Research Council. On this map were indicated four different Indians relics, first the village sights, next the mounds, third the work shops or kitchen and finally the caves. In this area 237 pre-historic sites were lo-

cated, distributed over a half dozen of the north Alabama Counties. After locating these spots the next step was to open them most carefully and to preserve everything that might be of historical interest which was to be found therein. Much of this material was sent to the University of Alabama where it has been carefully catalogued and preserved.

One of the first things that was apparent from these studies was much of this region had been occupied by people belonging to different civilizations. The most primitive remains were those which belonged to the Stone Age and showed signs of a dense civilization as much as 2,000 years ago. This was especially brought out by a study of the old shell mounds, often called middens, composed of accumulated debris and kitchen refuse. These were to be found always near the river, and the people evidently lived largely on the shell fish, or mussels which abounded in that section. The size of these mounds and the amount of shells which they contain is most impressive. One of these is described as 350 feet long, 200 feet wide, and with the shells from 10 to 13 feet deep. It is readily seen what an enormous amount of mussels must have been consumed to create a deposit of that depth.

At this point one of our friends, Frank, interrupted the speaker saying "You speak of these shell mounds as kitchens, and then tell us of the enormous deposit of mussel shells which are found there—why do you use the term kitchens, and what reason do you have for using such a term?"

But Charles was not disconcerted by the question, he said "The scientists call these mounds 'kitchens' for they are made up of deposits such as would be found at such a site. They find traces of fires, and also in these mounds are found bones of deer, fox, wolf, racoon, opossum, squirrel, ground hog, dog and turtle. Besides these were the bones of many birds, those of the turkey being most numerous. Fish bones also were found in large quantities, and they have identified those of the gar, drum and cat fish. These kitchens were located where there was an abundant supply of shell fish. The buildings were crude affairs, affording simple shelter from the storms. When the mussels were eaten the shells were thrown out the doors and when the pile got too large they simply moved the kitchen to higher ground."

Again Frank interrupted saying "May I ask another question?" and when he was given consent he said "You spoke of different civilizations being found in this same region and perhaps occupying the same kitchens, what makes you think that is true."

Charles said "I am not giving you my own opinion but rather of archeologists who have studied these locations and from the evidence to be found have come to this conclusion. The conclusion that there were different civilizations is based on the artifacts that are found at these locations. The oldest are those of a very primitive civilization which is usually spoken of as the Stone Age. These people are usually classified as the Shell Mound People, because of the fact that they occupied the river basin and subsisted largely on shell fish. They used darts rather than the bow and arrow in their pursuit of game. Succeeding these people is a later civilization in which the people showed a higher degree of culture. They were nomadic hunters and killed their game with bow and arrows. These people left attractive pottery which has been found in their villages, and used copper for ornaments and in other ways showed that they had progressed far beyond the culture of the Stone Age".

Another friend offered a question. He said "Aren't you talking now about the Indians of the Tennessee Valley? What is the connection between those Indians and the people who built these mounds?"

Here the teacher interposed and said "I think Charles has answered his questions very well. Suppose another one of the class answer that question. Helen suppose you take up here."

Without a moment of hesitation or of apology Helen said "It is difficult to establish the connection between our people here and those described in the T V A reports. We know that they had certain things in common, and probably occupied these different localities at the same time. The date which is usually given for the establishment and occupancy of our great prehistoric city here is from 1200 to 1400. Of course such date can be only approximate.

Those villages and middens were doubtless occupied at the same time by the Indians along the Tennessee River, but there was this great difference—while the Indians were a war like people

and largely lived by hunting our people lived in permanent habitations, and their civilization like that of the Mayas of Mexico, was largely built around the cultivation of the soil and the raising of maize, squash and beans.

In their search for Indian relics along the Tennessee those most commonly found are arrow heads and spear heads. Here at Moundville only a very few such relics have been found. On the other hand we find here beautiful specimens of pottery and of bead work, showing that the talents of these people lay along such lines. Our people, living in towns in this region, evolved a comparatively high culture for primitive peoples. Their pottery, copper and stone artifacts show that they possessed remarkable skill and artistry. A great network of paths, hardpacked by thousands of moccasined feet, connected their villages, and trunk-line trails linked this territory with regions hundreds of miles distant."

Again there was interruption. This time the questioner said "You speak as though the people of this region had trade relations and contacts with people in different parts of the country, what is your reason for believing that?"

In answer Helen said "Among the many articles which have been found here, some of which are preserved in our museum, are shells from the sea coast, there are also many articles of copper which may have come from as far away as the Great Lakes, also there are certain vessels made of obsidian, which is not found anywhere in this section. There are many other indications which shows that these people had contacts which reached far beyond these valleys and hills."

"Tell us something of the pottery and other interesting things that have been discovered in this neighborhood" requested Frank, and in answer the teacher said "Let us divide the responsibility of these questions. Sadie, suppose you answer the gentleman's question."

This time a small freckled face arose and began to tell her story. She said "The Moundville Indians, both men and women, were fond of personal adornment. They wore ear plugs, bracelets and arm bands of copper, and beads and pendants of bone, shell,

stone and copper. Many of these things were handsomely carved with intricate and delicate designs, which are the admiration of the women of today. Long hair pins were made of bone, and considerable time was devoted to hair dressing and to what would correspond to our modern beauty parlour. The pottery which he made was superior to anything found among the earlier types of Indian because the people here had learned to mix particles of crushed shell in the clay which added much to the beauty and the durability of the vessels. The Indians of course did not understand the use of the potter's wheel so that all of this work was done by hand. His domestic ware was plain, bearing no decoration. But in the making of his ornamental ware great pains was taken. Only the finest clay was used. After carefully mixing the clay it was molded into the desired design and then hardened in the fire. After this the vessel was dipped into a black wash, which coated it with a lasting film. Water bowls, bottles, pots, shallow dishes and effigy vessels were made of this thin black ware. Some of the forms were artistically shapen to resemble a frog, a duck, a rabbit or even human shapes. Many of these ornate vessels in perfect degree of preservation are to be seen in the museum on the grounds of the Mound State Park." When the State of Alabama built this museum it used many duplicates of these Indian artifacts in the decoration of the walls, thus preserving in a practical way the artistic efforts of these people who lived more than 500 years ago."

"Can you tell us something of the people themselves, what they looked like, where they came from and what became of them? It seems remarkable that such a high degree of civilization should perish leaving so little of real historic value". This question from one of our party was answered by another boy whose name I did not catch

He said "In regard to the people themselves we have a great many skeletons which give us an idea of their size and physical characteristics. They were of medium stature, well built and muscular. A custom among them effected very decided the heads of the upper classes. Among them it was considered stylish to have what might be called a flattened head in contrast to the pointed heads of the surrounding Indians. To obtain this effect the mothers strapped the heads of their little children to a wooden cradle board. The pressure of the leather thongs on the soft bones of the baby's

head caused a flattening which remained throughout life. Such a head seems to have become a mark of good rearing and was greatly to be desired so that many mothers went so far as to strap sand bags on their children's heads to induce this flattening. Such a changing of the human body may be compared to the custom which prevailed for so many generations in China of binding the feet of the higher class women. Because of the fact that these people left no written records it is hard to know anything of their history. Since they were not a war like people, living in villages and subsisting largely on maize they have been thought to have come originally from the Mayas of Mexico. Many customs which prevailed here are similar to those found in Mexico and Central America. This is notably true in the mounds which these people built. The arrangement and construction of these mounds are similar to those which are to be found just south of Mexico City. There they had an abundance of stone and the builders faced the mounds with stone, in this country there was no stone available so the mounds were left uncovered.

The matter of their disappearance is still shrouded in mystery. No where in the ruins about here is there to be found any indication of European influences, so these people must have left here prior to the 16th century. It is reasonable to suppose that when the more warlike tribes pressed south from the Tennessee Valley that these peace loving people, realizing their inability to resist their invasion, abandoned this section and migrated westward."

"Tell us something about the mounds themselves, why did they build them and for what purposes were they used"? When this question was asked the teacher requested another pupil to answer it. This time a young girl spoke saying: "In the minds of many people such mounds are associated with the idea of burials. It is said that the pyramids of Egypt were built for burial purposes and contain chambers in which were lain the bodies of the dead kings. But such was not the case here.

These mounds were almost exclusively built for religious purposes and on them were built the temples and here were performed the religious rites which tended to bind all the people of the nation together. This city and these mounds were to their builders much the same as Rome is today to the devout Roman Catholic. As the Psalmist said of Jerusalem "Hither the tribes go up" so it may

have been said of this ancient religious capitol. On top of these earth pyramids were built wooden temples, and special dwelling houses for the chieftians and the priests.

The motive that prompted their building was a religious one, and one that was shared in by all the peoples of that region. We can conceive of them trekking through the wilderness, enroute to the mounds, carrying with them their crude baskets in which the earth was to be carried up to the tops of the mounds. As the streams of men, women and children joined in the task of carrying earth from the valley to the top of the mounds we can hear their weird chants as they sang at their work. And on their great feast days we can imagine the thousands from all that region joining in the elaborate worship around these mounds.

We might speak of them as heathen, and yet in the name of their religion they made tremendous sacrifices of time and of labor. In fact religion was the most influential force in their lives, and influenced their mode of thought and action. From the fact that the bodies were usually buried with food and drinking vessels it is argued that they believed in immortality and conceived of a life after death where such vessels would be needed. Many graves have been found in this section but seldom have they been found on the mounds. They are usually found grouped by themselves in a section which might be regarded as a cemetery. A number of these graves have been carefully uncovered and carried just as they were found and placed in the museum where they can be seen by all who care to do so."

"Can you tell us something about the Park and what has been done to preserve this historic place"? The teacher was patient, but she said "It is getting late and our pupils have to go home, but we will take time enough to answer that question. Who will volunteer?" and when a number of the pupils raised their hands she asked one who had previously spoken to tell us what she knew. She said "You can see by looking at the fields that this is a fertile region through here. The early settlers were attracted by the rich lands and paid little attention to the Indian mounds. The village was first called Carthage, and in 1897 its name was changed to Moundville because of the numerous mounds in this neighborhood. The mounds have been studied from time to time by parties from the University of Alabama, first under Robert S. Hodges, later

under Clarence B. Moore, and more recently under Walter B. Jones. Largely through the efforts of the late Dr. Eugene A. Smith the state was induced to purchase these mounds and now owns over 300 acres containing in all about 40 mounds. There are 34 square and oval mounds in the group, the highest of which is nearly 60 feet high and covers about $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres at its base. It has been estimated that to build this one mound alone it would take 100 men, working 10 hours a day, more than 10 years to build. Of course all this work had to be done by hand. The Indians had no beasts of burden and not even any wheels to aid them in their task. Unlike the building of the pyramids, these people had no slave labour to help them in their task, but through the years they toiled away, believing that in doing so they would win the favour of their gods.

Many of these mounds are small and unpretentious in extent. Erosion and the farmers plough have tended to reduce the height of all the mounds. Fortunately since the State of Alabama has taken over the project it has used a large number of young men in a C C C camp to check erosion and to restore the mounds to their original shape.

In the last five years extensive improvements have been made in the grounds. The State has built and maintains a fine system of roads making all parts of the grounds readily accessible to those who have cars. In 1939 a handsome building was erected of stone which is owned by the Alabama Museum of Natural History and is now maintained by that organization in connection with the National Park Service. Into this building have been gathered many of the most interesting data in connection with the mounds. Here are to be seen a number of specimens of the pottery and other artifacts which have been uncovered here, also a number of burials have been uncovered and left in the ground just as they were found. These mounds are something unique in the life of our nation and it is gratifying that the State of Alabama has at last recognized their historical value and has taken steps to preserve them".

There was so much more that we wanted to know about this interesting place, but realizing that our hosts were getting restless, we thanked them for their interesting talks and bade them adieu. As we drove home in the twilight we agreed that we had had a most interesting trip and one which we hoped to repeat again some day.

WILSON'S RAID AND OTHER RECITAL

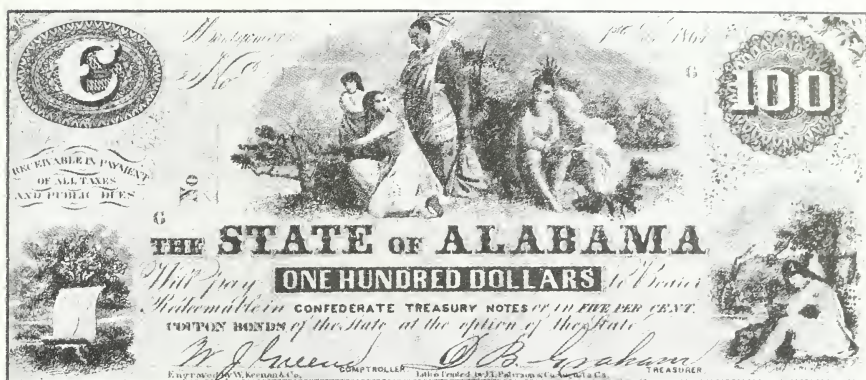
Recording A Persistent, But Unavailing Attempt To Capture At
Montgomery In 1865, Mr. Duncan Blue Graham, Treasurer,
And To Seize Funds Of The Confederate State
Of Alabama

By Samuel Walker Catts

(*As related by Florence Leonora Graham, daughter of Duncan B. Graham (Mrs. John T. Northington, deceased) to her daughter, Mrs. Mary Northington Catts.)

"When our failing cause was near an end, and Wilson's Raiders reached our undefended city, among the hasty acts of his calvary was to seize the former First Capitol of the Confederacy; and first of all offices,—my father's office,—the State Treasury. The Treasury was bare. Neither money, nor my father, could be found. He, with other State Officials, had been warned what to expect. My father had taken all cash and other State funds from his office and gone to Coosa County to one of his near relatives, Daniel Crawford. Mr. Crawford owned a very substantial old home in Coosa as well as one of the largest mill houses on a nearby creek. Secretly, these two gentlemen had, during that night (for greater safety to Alabama's meagre remaining, but all the more needed cash) ransacked it in several stouter sacks of the mill, wired them, chained them, and waded with them out into the creek, where the chains were made fast to anchors, and the sacks buried back underneath the bank of the creek, and there left them, the money safe from seizure, should by chance my father be captured. Paper money and treasury records were buried elsewhere on Mr. Crawford's place.

"So soon as the raiders found both cash and State Treasurer flown, my father's home was found, about two miles South from the Capitol on the Norman Bridge Road, and forthwith it was ransacked for my father, or for any letter or communication which would indicate where he could be found. When nothing could be found, a cordon of soldiers was thrown around it, and no one permitted to pass in or out through it; and for days and days we were cut off from the outside world. This was done with the hope of



One hundred dollar Alabama bill signed by Duncan B. Graham, Treasurer,
January 1, 1864.

capturing my father, whom the commanding officers thought, perhaps, might attempt to slip in home at night, or send a communication to my mother.

"When no communication came, in course of time my young brother, Duncan B. Jr., was permitted to pass out into the city on needed errands for the family.

"Governor Shorter had been advised, previous to the arrival of the raiders, to leave Montgomery to prevent capture, and he had preferred to leave for his home at Eufaula, where he could be near his family. After his departure, it was discovered some very important papers had been overlooked, and that these needed to reach him without delay. It was also discovered the raiders had all roads so closely guarded that those seeking to make delivery were in doubt it could be done. It was especially desired that the papers should not fall into the hands of the Federals.

"Some one from the State House saw my brother in the city and asked him if he thought he could get through the lines on the South side of the city and take the papers and deliver them to Governor Shorter at Eufaula! He said: "he thought he could; the soldiers at his home were letting him and his pony come into town; that both of them knew every path and pig trail in South Montgomery, yet neither had been to Eufaula; but if he found the roads guarded, he could take to the woods and hold to the South-

east." The papers were given him and he came home with them hidden on his person to tell my mother what he had agreed to do.

"My mother, (after the soldiers had taken charge of her home and premises), each night when the blinds had been closed, hung quilts over the windows so she and her family could have privacy from any prying eyes, and, at least, this possible freedom from the indignity put upon her.

"My brother in the early night scouted to see if he could get through, but found no chance; yet fortune seemed to be favoring him,—a storm was brewing! At midnight it came on in earnest. He slipped through to the lot, saddled his pony and eased him out into the weather, and found the premises too well guarded. After waiting for more than an hour and a half in the rain (drenched from head to foot, and his papers wet) he put his pony back in his stall and tried to slip back into the house and found the back door too well guarded. He told my mother if he could not get through, and, on return, could not reach a rear door, he would watch his chance, crawl underneath the house and tap the floor underneath where she sat, and that would mean a certain door. When the tap, tap, came, she thought he had long passed the guards and was on his way. She got him back into the house, built a fire and had him stretch before it to dry, while she dried the papers. At four o'clock he tried it again. The guards were tramping about in the rain, and when they shifted from his vicinity, he mounted his pony and went through on his more than ninety miles journey. When for more than a week my mother had no word whatever from her young son she was almost distracted. In fact, she became very much worried about him after the sixth night.

"Her worry had been occasioned by Governor Shorter, whom, when he received the papers and learned from the fifteen year old young courier under what circumstances they had been given him, and the efforts he continued until he passed the yankee guards at his home (and how often, on his journey, he saw—what he thought to be—Federal calvary and took off into the woods and continued along a parallel course to the main road until he could get back into it) was so charmed with him, the Governor kept him at his home for several days, and sent a verbal message of thanks to my mother and to say he had her boy rest up a while before allowing

him to return. But the unknown delay had been too much of a wait for a mother who lost this boy two years later.

"One closing incident of the indignity my mother suffered from that guard, and an outrageous one, considering she was in her own home, and, at the time, had a young child but a few weeks old. Yet, she could afterwards say: "the devil himself,—if any part of a gentleman,—should receive distinction!"

"One morning the yankee Captain who had his guards on duty, rode out with others for relief, and could find none there. He was puzzled; his knock at the front received no response; but hearing voices in the rear, he came around the house, and through the dining room windows beheld his yankee yeoman just taking their seats at a private dining table, my mother serving them. Stepping within, he inquired:

"Mrs. Graham, what is the meaning of this?"

"It means," said my mother, "these renegades drove my servants off of my premises, and although I have a very young infant at my breast, they demanded that I, and I alone, prepare them a hot breakfast!"

"Madam, I am ashamed that such an indignity should ever have happened to you, and every guilty man here is now under arrest and shall be punished!"

"Arise, you renegades" he commanded, "And turn each one of you your pockets upon the table!"

"No filth out of their pockets shall go upon my table," said my mother. "I ask you to take them out!"

The residence of Mr. Duncan B. Graham of that time faced the Norman Bridge Road, and stood near the present Northeast corner of First Street, now Graham St., and Cloverdale Road, the property a quarter section (upon which now a greater part of Cloverdale has been built) extended one-half mile south on the East side of the Norman Bridge Road to the beautiful old show

place of the Mastins, and of these families, Belle Graham married Thomas Mastin. She lived only a short while after marriage at this old home amidst its cedars and broad acres.

No picture is here offered of Mr. Graham, as many of him are to be found upon Alabama 'shin plasters.' My wife says of her grandfather, when looking at some of these: "He was no one's pretty child!" This being the most inconsequential part of fine character, makes but little lament. True it is, however, whether the requirements of State impelled it, and from no part of conceit he decided but the one time to leave it extant, (or, indifferent to what part—for art—Alabama's war-time lithographer might devise to make him as handsome as he should have been), this is the only one known.



John A. Graham,
Coosa County

In costume of Scotch Highlander

It is my desire to offer and have appear herein a picture of his brother, Mr. John A. Graham, in Highland togs. I do not know (and for no better reason than my ignorance is vast in such matters), whether the beauty of his Scotch plaided breeches is blocked out (for pride in them) upon cloth of a design from the Graham Arms, but the Arms of the 'Graham Clan', I am told, carry a base and background from some such cloth.

Mr. Graham was a lawyer and practiced at one time in the Circuit of which Coosa County composed a part, (and elsewhere), a man of ambitious ideals and poetic temperament. One of his poems of earliest martial appeal, calling the Confederate States to arms, sounds a clarion as

clear and warlike as Sir William Wallace to the ancient Scots,—is here also offered:

(For the Advertiser)

THE GATHERING

BY JOHN A. GRAHAM

Ho! champions of the right! ho! gallant sons of gallant sires!
Arise in all your wonted might! defend your homes and altar-fires!
The vandal foe is on the march, arise! and meet him at the line,
And hurl the foul invador back that would despoil each hallowed shrine.

Ho! from 'Texas' fartherest bound—from Louisiana's smiling
plains—
Mississippi's swelling tides, and Alabama's bright domains—
From Georgia's green Savannahs—from flowery streams of
Florida—
From the Carolinas' hills and vales, where freedom's prestine fires
play—

From the heights of Tennessee—from Virginia's mountain band,
And from the classic fields and shores of gallant knightly Maryland,
One thrilling shout is heard, of stern resolve, that dooms to death
the foe,
Whose foot would press the soil where freemen live, and heroes
sleep below!

Ho! their mustering squadrons come, and forming, cheering, on-
ward sweep
A wave of living fire, rolling high and broad and long and deep—
A host of true and dauntless men, whose hearts beat high, devoid
of fears—
Sweep on! sweep on to meet the foe! freedom's conquering
Chevaliers!
—Montgomery, Ala., May 7, 1861.

After the war Mr. Graham resided in Florida, and also at Washington. The favor of fortune for him (life that of thousands of others of the South shot to death in smoke and gun powder) seems in his efforts to regain it. (from many letters and poems on it, found among the effects of his niece, Mrs. Northington), often far flung, but just as fickle and fore-parted. One of his poetic

compositions on the conglomerate, carpet-bag rabble which infested and debauched the sacred walls of our State Capitol, in its candor of free expression and insatiate humor, (a sense of possession which always comforted and supported him), will bear no reproduction here; but it is my desire that this, and the 'Clerk from Coosa to the Clerk of Montgomery' be preserved in our State Archives. Also some letters to him from Admiral Raphael Semmes.

Mr. Graham, when in Montgomery, (and from many old letters to show it when absent), was, seemingly, the favorite brother of Mary Isabel Graham. Mary Isabel purchased from her brother, Duncan B., two and one-half acres on the North side of his quarter section, and here she built a home and maintained a private school. She was a highly educated, independent person concerning all matters of her affairs, and for Scotch adherency to Presbyterian faith and what constituted character. She lived alone and christened her premises 'Mount Calm.' She possessed a sweet voice, and it is said the calm placidness of her premises remained unbroken, only except at such times as she and her brother John sat beneath the big broad oak, yet standing on 'Mount Calm', and sang their old world Scotch and sacred songs.

'Mount Calm' remains to-day on old Norman Bridge Road (South Decatur Street) at the head of Clanton Avenue, and looks down on an Avenue christened for an immortal who took most part in driving the carpet-baggers from their seat of glory. His ultimatum on that day 'to proceed to count the vote' shall not perish!

But, Mary I. Graham, in her State's distress, bought State Bonds, which never to her dying day, nor since, have been paid. An old deed to her is here quoted:

"State of Alabama, Montgomery County. In consideration of the sum of eight hundred dollars to me in hand paid by Mary I. Graham of the County and State aforesaid, I have this day sold unto the said Mary I. Graham, a certain negro woman, slave, named Sally, aged nineteen years, together with her male, infant, aged four months,—the titles to which said slaves I hereby Warrant and will forever defend; and I further Warrant said slaves to be sound in mind and body, and slaves for life. In witness whereof

I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this second day of December, A. D. 1862. (sig).*

Reflecting upon it, there are several soliloquies. Had the hazards of war, by the end of 1862, (or, what particular battle?) determined that Scotchman it was a good idea to sell negroes to an old maid cousin? Did he receive payment in gold? (It is to be hoped she paid him off in Confederate currency!) Under that unconditional Warranty that the negroes were slaves for life, did Mary I. Graham ever call on him to make his warranty good? At any rate, considering all causes, it can easily be conceived that a potential hazard should not be lacking in that sagacity which made Mary I. Graham's cousin willing to take a chance, even to warranting a four months negro baby of sound mind,—if all slaves owners (under the frown of God, and sad to state) were headed to hell and the devil!

*Name withheld, but conveyed to Mary I. Graham by a Scotch cousin.

AUTAUGA COUNTY

(Original in Volume 1, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, by Thomas M. Owen.)

Created by the legislature, November 30, 1818. It was formed from Montgomery County; by act of December 13, 1820, the boundaries in the north and northwest, were enlarged; and January 12, 1827, the line between Autauga and Shelby Counties was more definitely fixed. In 1868 part of its territory was taken to establish the new counties of Chilton (first Baker) and Elmore on the north and east. It was named for Autauga Creek, a bold stream running through the county. The creek received its designation from the Indian village of that name, situated below the point where the creek runs into the Alabama River. (See Atagi.) Its area is 584 square miles, or 373,760 acres.

The act creating the county provided that for the time being court should be held "at Jackson's mill, on the Autauga Creek," but, for the want of necessary buildings, might "adjourn to such other place contiguous thereto as may seem most proper." The legislature, November 22, 1819, named Robert Gaston, Zachariah Pope, Alsey Pollard, Alexander R. Hutchinson, and Zaccheus Powell, as commissioners to "fix on a site for the public buildings" in the county, and to contract for and superintend the building of "a suitable courthouse, jail, and pillory." They were paid the modest sum of \$15 each for their services. The town of Washington was chosen. It was located on the Alabama River at the mouth of Autauga Creek, and on the site of the Indian village of Atagi. It was one of the first settled portions of the county. The first houses were erected in 1817. For about 15 years it held a position of importance in the political, social and business life of the county.

Because of the location of Washington in the extreme southern part of the county, there was much dissatisfaction, and the legislature, December 28, 1827, authorized a vote to be taken at the general election in August, 1828, "for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the citizens of said county, with regard to the removal of the seat of justice from its present location, to, or near the center

of the county." The sheriff was directed to certify the result to each of the members of the legislature from the county, but what the vote was is not available. Possibly it was in favor of retaining Washington as the county seat. However, on December 2, 1830, the legislature appointed John Essel, John Hunt, Francis Baker, Enoch Islands and Henley Brown as commissioners to select a seat of justice, having due regard "to centrality, population, health and general convenience."

The commissioners selected a site near the center of the county, which was called Kingston. The place was without other advantages than its central location, and a Wetumpka editor denominated it the "Great Sahara." During its existence as the county seat it had only a limited population.

The legislature removed the county seat to Prattville, December 12, 1868, and Kinkston became a deserted village. It is no longer a post office, and maps designate the site as Old Kingston. About two miles away the name is preserved as a station on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad.

Location and Physical Description.—It lies in the central part of the State, wholly within the Coastal Plain, or agricultural district, and is bounded on the north by Chilton, south by Lowndes, east by Elmore and Montgomery, and west by Dallas County. Its surface is undulating with a general trend south and east to the Alabama River. Geologically it lies upon a great pebble bed, which covers the line of contact of the metamorphic rocks and the Cretaceous formation. The northern part, more than two-thirds of its area, is hilly with a sandy and often gravelly soil. In the southern part of the lands are sandy loam, with clay subsoil and are very productive. The central and western sections comprise red loam table lands, all highly productive. The lands of the southern section are calcareous. There are two outcroppings of rotten limestone in the county, one in township 17, the other below Dutch Bend on the Alabama River. Yellow ochre has been mined and marketed in limited quantities, but the supply is not commercially important. There is a bed of phosphatic greensand, a formation which is more extensively shown in Greene County. The entire area of the county is wooded, with long-leaf pine as its principal forest growth. Other trees are the various species of oak, hickory, short-leaf pine, magnolia, gum, walnut, beech and

poplar. The Alabama River forms the southern boundary and Big Mulberry Creek, a part of its western boundary. Aside from these, its water-courses are Autauga, Bear, Beaver, Bridge, Buck, Ivy, Little Mulberry, Mortar, Nowlands, Piney Woods, Swift, White-water and Yellow Creeks.

Aboriginal History.—In the early years of the eighteenth century, the French found the territory of the county inhabited by the Alibamo Indians, whose villages were located along the Alabama River. But on an ancient French map there is an Alibamo town (Halbama), apparently in the western part of the county. Altogether, the county has no important aboriginal history.

Along the Alabama River are found some evidences of aboriginal occupancy, but they are not numerous. Autauga (Atagi), an Alibamo town, was situated below the mouth of Autauga Creek, which enters the river just above the present Washington ferry on the Montgomery and Prattville public road. Opil 'Lako, an Upper Creek town, possibly Alibamo, was located in the county, but its site has never been determined. Arrow and spearpoints of flint are found in several sections, but at no place in sufficient quantities to suggest the existence of workshop sites, as on the opposite side of the Alabama, and on the Tallapoosa River, some miles to the east.

During the Creek War, 1813-14, Dutch Bend became a place of refuge for the Creeks after their defeat at the Holy Ground. Here Weatherford's wife, Sapoth Thlanie died, two days after the battle. Weatherford had a plantation on the west bank of the river, about a mile and a half below the mouth of Pintlala Creek.

Settlement and Later History.—Settlers entered its borders from the stream of migration through old Fort Jackson in 1814, immediately following the close of the Creek War. Its permanent settlers date from 1816, 1817 and 1818, the number in the latter year being sufficient to call for the setting up of a separate county. Within the first fifteen years of its history, almost all of its best lands had been occupied, its population had become stable, and migration had set in from among its people to other parts of the Old Southwest.

Among the early residents of the county were, Gov. Wm. W.

Bibb, John A. Elmore, Sr., Bolling Hall, Sr., James Jackson, Robert Gaston, Jacob P. House, Francis Lewis, Bent Pierce, Philips and Byrd Fitzpatrick, Nicholas Zeigler, Edmund Gholson, Isaac Funderburg, Levi Kelly, William Hester, Jesse Gay, Josiah Rice, Thomas Harris, James Goss, Thomas Tatum, George Jones, Edmund Foreman, Joseph Riley, Mackey Johnson, Archibald Graham, Richard Bibb, Job Calloway, William Lewis, Joshua Marcus, William Futch, Isaiah Thacker, Aaron Moore, Hiram Bishop, Abram Chancellor, Lewis C. Davis, Thomas C. Smith, William R. Pickett, Mark Howard, Seaborn Mims, Lewis Tyrus, Richard Mouton, Wm. Hightower, Jeremiah Jackson, Robert Motley, Robert Broadnax, Edmund Shackleford, John G. Stoudenmire, William N. Thompson, John Mathews, James Mathews, William Peebles, Benjamin Averett, James and Nehemiah Howard, Eli Ely, Lazarus Parker, William Nunn, Thomas Hogg, Dr. N. S. Jones, Benjamin Davis, Dr. A. R. Hutchinson, Organ Tatum, Berry Tatum, S. McGraw, B. Mason, John Lamar, L. Houser, S. Stoudenmire, John McNeel.

The county has been the birthplace or home of several persons of distinction. Gov. Wm. W. Bibb, first governor of Alabama, made his home in the vicinity of the present Coosada, there he died, and his remains lie in a private cemetery on his old home place. In the same community resided John A. Elmore, Sr., a soldier of the Revolution, Bolling Hall, Sr., a former Representative in Congress from Georgia, James Jackson, who represented Autauga County in the first constitutional convention of the State in 1819, and Capt. Albert T. Goodwyn, representative in Congress. Daniel Pratt founded Parttville and the great gin manufacturing interests which have rendered his name and county famous. In the county also resided for a time Gen. Thomas Woodward, noted Indian fighter; also William R. Pickett, father of Col. A. J. Pickett, the historian; Gen. E. Y. Fair, minister to Brussels; Elder Lewis C. Davis, popularly known as "Club Axe" Davis. The county was the birthplace of Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Harris, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan; and of his niece, Miss May Harris, prominent as an author.

The county is properly classed as agricultural, although it has important manufactures. One of the earliest manufacturing plants, the Pratt Gin Co., was established long before the War. It was one of the very first of the purely distinctive manufacturing plants using water as power, although there were many gristmills

and sawmills supplying local demands, erected on the streams of the State.

There are three railroad lines in the county: Louisville & Nashville, main line, 8 miles main track, and 1.85 miles side track; Montgomery & Prattville branch, 4.82 miles main track, and .74 mile side track; Mobile & Ohio, 29.68 miles main track, and 3.01 miles side track; and Alabama Central Ry., 8.75 miles main track.

Population.—Statistics from decennial publications of the U. S. Bureau of the Census:

	White	Negro	Total
1820	2203	1650	3853
1830	5867	6007	11874
1840	6217	8125	14342
1850	6274	8749	15023
1860	7105	9621	16739
1870	4329	7292	11623
1880	4397	8710	13107
1890	4796	8418	13330
1900	6742	11173	17915
1910	8320	11717	20038

Post Offices and Towns.—Revised to December 31, 1916, from U. S. Official Postal Guide. Figures indicate the number of rural routes from that office.

Autaugaville
 Billingsley—2
 Booth
 Fremont
 Haynes
 Jones—1
 Kalmia
 Marbury
 Mulberry
 Prattville (ch)—3
 Statesville
 Vida—1
 Wadsworth

Winslow

Delegates to Constitutional Conventions.—

- 1819—James Jackson.
- 1861—George Rives, Sr.
- 1865—Benjamin Fitzpatrick.
- 1867—J. L. Alexander.
- 1875—H. J. Livingston, D. B. Booth.
- 1901—Morgan M. Smith, Mac A. Smith.

Senators.—

- 1819-20—Howell Rose.
- 1822-3—Dunklin Sullivan.
- 1825-6—James Jackson.
- 1828-9—William R. Pickett.
- 1831-2—William R. Pickett.
- 1834-5—Robert Broadnax.
- 1837-8—Samuel S. Simmons.
- 1840-1—Dixon Hall.
- 1843-4—William L. Yancey.
- 1844-5—Sampson W. Harris.
- 1847-8—Seth P. Storrs.
- 1849-50—Seth P. Storrs.
- 1853-4—Thomas H. Watts.
- 1855-6—Adam C. Felder.
- 1857-8—Adam C. Felder.
- 1861-2—Samuel F. Rice.
- 1865-6—Adam C. Felder.
- 1868—J. A. Farden.
- 1871-2—J. A. Farden.
- 1872-3—C. S. G. Doster.
- 1873—C. S. G. Doster.
- 1874-5—W. G. M. Golson.
- 1875-6—W. G. M. Golson.
- 1876-7—P. H. Owen.
- 1878-9—W. D. McCurdy.
- 1880-1—W. D. McCurdy.
- 1882-3—Willis Brewer.
- 1884-5—Willis Brewer.
- 1886-7—Willis Brewer.

- 1888-9—Willis Brewer.
1890-1—Mac. A. Smith.
1892-3—Mac. A. Smith.
1894-5—Willis Brewer.
1896-7—Willis Brewer.
1898-9—A. E. Caffee.
1899 (Spec.)—A. E. Caffee.
1900-01—C. P. Rogers, Sr.
1903—Walter Robert Oliver.
1907—H. S. Doster.
1907 (Spec.)—H. S. Doster.
1909 (Spec.)—H. S. Doster.
1911—T. A. Curry.
1915—W. W. Wallace.
1919—J. C. Harper.

Representatives.—

- 1819-20—Phillips Fitzpatrick; C. A. Dennis.
1820-1—Phillips Fitzpatrick; J. Jackson.
1821 (called)—Phillips Fitzpatrick; J. Jackson.
1821-2—W. R. Pickett; John A. Elmore.
1822-3—Phillips Fitzpatrick.
1823-4—William R. Pickett.
1824-5—William R. Pickett.
1825-6—Robert Broadnax; John McNeill.
1826-7—Robert Broadnax; Eli Terry.
1827-8—Robert Broadnax; Eli Terry.
1828-9—Robert Broadnax; ——— Rogers.
1829-30—Robert Broadnax; William Hester.
1830-1—Robert Broadnax; Dixon Hall, Sr.
1831-2—Robert Broadnax; Dixon Hall.
1832 (called)—Robert Broadnax; S. S. Simmons.
1832-3—Robert Broadnax; S. S. Simmons.
1833-4—Dixon Hall, Jr.; S. S. Simmons.
1834-5—Wm. Burt; S. S. Simmons; J. B. Robinson.
1835-6—Dixon Hall, Jr.; S. S. Simmons; Benjamin Davis.
1836-7—John P. Dejarnette; S. S. Simmons; Benjamin Davis.
1837 (called)—John P. Dejarnette; S. S. Simmons; Benjamin Davis.
1837-8—John P. Dejarnette; William Burt; T. W. Brevard.
1838-9—Dixon Hall, Jr.; J. W. Withers; Thomas Hogg.

- 1839-40—Dixon Hall; John Withers.
1840-1—Benjamin Davis; Absalom Doster.
1841 (called)—Benjamin Davis; Absalom Doster.
1841-2—John Steele; William L. Morgan.
1842-3—John Mitchell; William L. Morgan.
1843-4—John Steele; Crawford M. Jackson.
1844-5—John Steele; Crawford M. Jackson.
1845-6—John Steele; Crawford M. Jackson.
1847-8—John Wood; Crawford M. Jackson.
1849-50—John Wood; Bolling Hall.
1851-2—C. C. Howard; Bolling Hall.
1853-4—Bolling Hall.
1855-6—Crawford M. Jackson.
1857-8—Crawford M. Jackson.
1859-60—A. C. Taylor; Daniel Pratt (1860), to succeed Mr. Taylor.
1861 (1st called)—Daniel Pratt.
1861 (2nd called)—Daniel Pratt.
1861-2—Daniel Pratt.
1862 (called)—Daniel Pratt.
1862-3—Daniel Pratt.
1863 (called)—L. Howard.
1863-4—L. Howard.
1864 (called)—L. Howard.
1864-5—L. Howard.
1865-6—Charles S. G. Doster.
1866-7—Charles S. G. Doster.
1868—Alfred Baker.
1869-70—Alfred Baker.
1870-1—Charles S. G. Doster.
1871-2—C. S. G. Doster.
1872-3—S. J. Patterson.
1873—S. J. Patterson.
1874-5—J. E. Bozeman.
1875-6—J. E. Bozeman.
1876-7—S. S. Booth.
1878-9—W. J. Smith.
1880-1—J. L. Johnson.
1882-3—Mac. A. Smith.
1884-5—T. D. Cory.
1886-7—Philip A. Wood.
1888-9—Merrill E. Pratt.

- 1890-1—P. A. Wood.
1892-3—M. White.
1894-5—Mac. A. Smith.
1896-7—T. B. Love.
1898-9—H. S. Doster.
1899 (Spec.)—H. S. Doster.
1900-01—H. S. Doster.
1903—Joseph A. Wilkinson.
1907—Eugene Ballard.
1907 (Spec.)—Eugene Ballard.
1909 (Spec.)—Eugene Ballard.
1911—J. B. Bell.
1915—McQueen Smith.
1919—M. A. Graham.

See Alibamu; Autaugaville; Coosada; Daniel Pratt Gin Company; Prattville.

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RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON

(An address by Joseph H. James, of Greensboro, made at the unveiling of a bronze bust of Admiral Hobson in the Spanish-American War lobby of the World War Memorial Building, on May 9, 1942.)



"Magnolia Grove"

The Hobson home in Greensboro, Ala.

his home town and at the old Southern University at that place. Later, by competitive examination, he was appointed to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, at the early age of fourteen years.

There he graduated at the head of his class, being the first Southern boy to do so since the War between the States.

He won a scholarship at the University of Paris, and there continued his studies in naval construction. He was the first American ever to win first honors at that University.

He then taught a post-graduate course in naval construction at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He went to the Spanish-American War as naval constructor with the Atlantic Fleet, and aboard the flagship of the commanding Admiral, Sampson. His name became a household word throughout the world when, with a few comrades chosen by him, he went to what appeared to be certain death in an attempt to block the entrance to Santiago

Admiral Richmond Pearson Hobson was born, of James Marcellus Hobson and Sarah Pearson Hobson, at the ancestral home, Magnolia Grove, in Greensboro, Alabama in the year 1870.

He was of aristocratic lineage, and was himself an aristocrat—in manners, in mind and in spirit.

His early education was in private schools in

harbor and did succeed in so obstructing it that the ships of the Spanish fleet could come out but one at the time to certain and swift destruction. He was both the instigator and the executor of this daring plan.

He was the inventor of a number of appliances, machines and processes useful to the navy—notably the air-bag method by which he raised at least one of the sunken Spanish war-ships off the coast of Cuba and three sunken Spanish gun-boats in Manila bay.

His eyesight becoming defective by reason of his straining work as a naval constructor under tropical suns and by reason of a protracted illness, he retired from the navy in 1903.

He was elected to Congress from the Sixth Congressional District of Alabama in 1906. There his splendid qualities of mind and leadership were immediately recognized and he became a power for good.

Through his influence on the House Naval Affairs Committee, he succeeded in having passed laws and rules which cut some of the red tape in connection with the transporting of troops by the navy or under its escort, and which later resulted in American troops reaching France much sooner than would otherwise have happened in the First World War, in that crucial time when the fate of the world hung in the balance.

By his indomitable perseverance, he persuaded the Department of Agriculture of the Nation to put at his disposal some of its finest experts, to hold meetings of instruction for the farmers of his district. This was widely heralded by the magazines and newspapers of that day as "The Hobson Idea", and by this action on behalf of agriculture he became the father of real Federal Farm Demonstration in the United States.

He was the constant and deadly enemy of the liquor traffic, and was chosen by the friends of temperance throughout the nation to introduce in Congress and to sponsor the amendment to the Constitution of the United States outlawing the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

His public life over, he devoted his rare talents to lecturing, and the thunders of his eloquence shook the platforms of the nation as he pled, in his lecture "The Great Destroyer" for the sobriety of his people, and in his "Yellow Peril" for the preparation of his nation against the rising pestilence which he foresaw in the Far East.

Transferring his residence and his activities, first to the West Coast and later to New York, he spent his latter years battling the scourge of narcotics. While on the West Coast—a transplanted citizen—by a widespread newspaper poll he was chosen as one of the twelve most outstanding and useful citizens in the Pacific States.

He died a wearer of the Congressional Medal of Honor and an Admiral of his Nation.

He was the implacable foe of every foe of mankind.

He was a man—clean, pure, above the clouds—facing unflinchingly every responsibility; shirking no duty.

He was an orator. Not upon the hustings; nor in the halls of Congress! nor upon the platform, could any man within my day sway an audience with greater power or greater effectiveness.

He was a warrior—born to battle and trained to fight. At Santiago, in what he so modestly referred to as a little incident in a little war, he volunteered to place his skill and his life upon his country's altar, and pled to make the last great sacrifice in his country's cause. And, for him, it was but an incident—a spark flying from the flint. And yet that spark set a nation ablaze. Yes, an incident, but indicative of what lay deep in the soldier soul. It was born in him; ingrained in him; and he could no more help going smilingly up under those frowning battlements; into that belching hell; than the needle can fail to seek the pole.

And not in actual war alone, but upon the so-called plains of peace was he a warrior. No banner ever flaunted for righteousness and justice but what his feet pressed early beneath its folds.

To us who knew him best, and therefore loved him, he was the embodiment of the lion-hearted crusader. In any conflict between

truth and error, we never doubted where he was. The swirling dust-clouds might envelope the struggling hosts, but we could find him by the din of battle. Wherever right met wrong in deadly combat, in the thickest of the battle, upon the side of the right, we knew we would find his snow-white plume.

He was a prophet. With his trained mind; his clear vision; his deep understanding, he foretold things yet far in the future. Undaunted by the cry of "visionary", he sounded his clarion warning throughout the length and breadth of his beloved land: "Look to the Far East! A cloud no bigger than a man's mind! Beware! Beware! The Yellow Peril!" Marvelous that he should foretell, thirty nine years ago, and write it down for future generations to read, that, to use his own words, "Military white men would marshall yellow men to attack us".

And today, as our nation is beset; as we gird ourselves in haste—pray God not too late—there come ringing down through the lapse of more than thirty years the echoes of that warning: "Beware! Prepare! Face to the East! Face to the West! Guard both oceans!" And his countrymen bow their heads in reverence and say: "There was a prophet in that day."

Admiral Richmond Pearson Hobson—Christian gentleman; orator; statesman; warrior; prophet! We do ourselves honor in honoring him.

At the regular session of the Alabama Legislature, in 1943, a Bill was introduced in the Senate by L. J. Lawson and passed by both Houses, making an appropriation from the general treasury for the restoration and maintenance of the Hobson home in Greensboro known as "Magnolia Grove". The Act reads:

AN ACT

To provide a memorial to perpetuate the memory of Richard Pearson Hobson and for that purpose to create a public board and to appropriate for their use seven thousand dollars, and the further sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually for the purpose of maintaining said memorial.

Be it Enacted by the Legislature of Alabama:

Section 1. There is hereby created a public board to be known as the Richmond Pearson Hobson Memorial Board and to consist of three residents of Greensboro, Alabama, one of whom at least

shall be a member of the Hobson family, to be appointed by the Governor upon approval of this act. Any vacancies in the membership of said board shall likewise be filled by appointment by the Governor.

Section 2. Out of the funds in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated or obligated there is hereby appropriated the sum of seven thousand dollars to be used by said board for the purpose of repairing, renovating, restoring and equipping that certain property in Greensboro, Alabama, known as "Magnolia Grove" consisting of twenty acres, more or less, and the further sum of fifteen hundred dollars annually for the purpose of maintaining said property as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of the late Richmond Pearson Hobson, the hero of the Merrimac, and later member of Congress from the State of Alabama.

Section 3. Upon delivery to the Board of a deed of gift conveying to the State of Alabama a title in fee simple to the aforesaid property, to be approved by the Attorney General, but reserving to the donors, Margaret W. Hobson, Sarah Ann Hobson, Joseph M. Hobson, Samuel A. Hobson, Florence Hobson Morrison, the right and privilege to use and occupy said property as a place of residence during their lifetime, the Board shall forthwith proceed to expend the appropriation of seven thousand dollars hereinabove made in and about repairing, renovating, restoring and equipping said property as such memorial; and shall expend also the sum of fifteen hundred dollars hereinabove appropriated annually for the preservation thereof by employing a custodian or hostess, to be a member of the Hobson family if available, at a salary of ————. The aforementioned property shall be used only as a memorial shrine, and in the event the state shall fail at any time in the future to maintain said property as such memorial shrine, or abandon the use thereof as such, title thereto shall revert to the donors, their heirs or assigns.

Section 4. The appropriation hereinabove made shall be released only upon approval of the Governor and at his discretion.

Section 5. This act shall be effective upon its passage and approval.

Approved July 9, 1943.

BOOK REVIEWS

By Emily Calcott

Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy by Charles W. Ramsdell. Louisiana State University Press. 1944. \$2.00.

The Plain People of the Confederacy by Bell Irvin Wiley. Louisiana State University Press. 1943. \$1.50.

Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy and *The Plain People of the Confederacy* were both presented originally as parts of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lecture Series at Louisiana State University. Now, in printed form, they are available to the public at a nominal cost. Scholarly and sound (the very names of the authors bear witness to the fact) they are interesting contributions to the large body of recent Southern histories which are changing the American historian's interpretation of the War Between the States.

These particular volumes have an added value all their own, which arises from the fact that they were first presented as a university lecture series. They are brief and written with such fine attention to style and form that they can easily be read by the general public, including college and even high-school students.

Recent Southern scholarship concerning the Confederacy has been sound scholarship. It has examined an impressive mass of primary and secondary sources and given evidence of the fact in an equally impressive mass of footnotes. The Southern scholar's purpose has been to force a more just interpretation of the War and its results upon the American historian. The books were written by scholars for scholars. Exhaustive research was—and is—necessary.

But in the midst of this Confederate Renaissance, the "common reader" (to use Dr. Johnson's term) has fared somewhat meagerly. He has had little to read except historical novels, which—although interesting enough—are sometimes overdrawn, inaccurate, or sentimentalized. School children have suffered even more than their parents and teachers, for the novels are sometimes so beyond their

emotional understanding that they fail to understand the book as a whole. Thus the Southern school child often continues to learn his Confederate history by word of mouth or—more generally true—simply to starve in the midst of plenty. There is great need for books on Southern history that high-school and grade-school children can read and understand. *Plain People of the Confederacy* and *Behind the Lines* are two volumes that can be enjoyed by high-school children, their teachers (other than history specialists), and their parents. It is to be hoped that the Fleming Lectures continue to produce essays with this rare combination of scholarly accuracy and popular appeal.

Dr. Ramsdell's posthumous volume, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy*, contains three chapters concerned with various economic political problems on the home front of the Confederacy. The core of his analysis lies in the curious fact that although the Confederacy developed a superb army, it was "only partly able to supply its needs in food and clothing and arms and transportation, and—failed completely to solve the problem of preserving the well-being and the morale of the civilian population behind the lines."

The War forced an economic self-sufficiency upon the South, Dr. Ramsdell believed, that it was totally unprepared for. And while the North was strong enough to recover from its mistakes, the South could not afford a single mistake in economic or political experiment.

However, the South made valient and brilliant efforts to offset its natural disabilities. Two years after the outbreak of war, the Southern States had practically abandoned their laissez-faire policy. In fact they had embarked upon a series of controls so remarkable as to suggest 1944 rather than 1863. Cotton acreage was reduced, through government planning, and foodstuffs planted. Relief legislation was passed and food and clothing distributed. (In spite of inflation, the Confederate private drew \$11. a month.) Impressionment of commodities at ceiling prices was enforced. Excess profits taxes were levied. Factories were subsidized or established by government in order to assure the manufacture of various essential articles.

All methods failed and economic collapse came steadily to the

Confederacy. But there were no ways better than those that were tried, Dr. Ramsdell believed. Even through the perspective of years Dr. Ramsdell could suggest no better way to handle any single problem that harassed the home front. But it was civilian insecurity and actual want that undermined general morale, Dr. Ramsdell believed, long before the military situation became desperate.

Dr. Wiley's *Plain People of the Confederacy* is in part a paraphrase of two of his earlier published volumes. He has drawn material from them to discuss all the "common folk" of the Confederacy, black as well as white. Details in each of his three chapters are selected to establish a point of view about the private at the front, his family at home, the Negro at the front and at home. Sturdy and fine though the Confederate soldier was, economic conditions back home tended to sap his patriotism. The fervor of many dwindled when the soldier became aware of the want and misery of his family.

Chapter II, "The Folk at Home" is another treatment of the same economic conditions that Dr. Ramsdell analyzed. Here, however, the emphasis is put upon public reaction rather than upon governmental experimentation. The letters of despair that drew the soldier back to the farm are particularly featured.

In "The Colored Folk" the point is made that although the War affected various Negro groups in various ways, invasion always brought demoralization and craving for freedom. With Northern "freedom", Northern exploitation came inevitably. Dr. Wiley's account stops short of Reconstruction. He does point out, though, that the means by which freedom came to the Negro was unfortunate as well as unreal—a fact that is still finding repercussions in 1944. "Peaceful methods would have required a longer time", he writes, "but they might have achieved an emancipation much more real than that which was vouchsafed at the mouth of a cannon."

Night on the Terrace by Elizabeth Winston Sheehan. The Paebur Company. 1942. \$1.50.

Gracious Interlude by Lucille Key Thompson. The Banner Press. 1943. \$1.50.

Elizabeth Winston Sheehan's *Night on the Terrace* and Lucille Key Thompson's *Gracious Interlude* are worthy additions to Alabama's rich lyric contribution to American literature. The volumes have in common a spirituality and religious sincerity that in themselves make a deep appeal. In addition both have a delicacy of technique that charms the more careful reader. The poems of both volumes have proved their popularity before, for nearly all have previously been published or heard on the radio and are presented as collections rather than first publications. Both authors are well known to state and national audiences.

Elizabeth Winston Sheehan's poems are almost Pre-Raphaelite in their delicate interweaving of themes of love, death, and immortality. In the Pre-Raphaelite tradition, too, is her delicate appeal to the senses—the musical flower names, the words of warm color, the words of clear musical sound.

Beginning in a mood of subdued happiness at remembered spring and love, the lyric sequence sweeps on to the full love of summer and finally to the mystic meetings between the parted lovers. In "Night on the Terrace", the poem that gives the volume its title, the gradually shading allegory becomes implicit:

I can not say at just what hour you came,
For eyes could not outline your form. Instead
the moonlight's very brightness seemed to foil
My eagerness. And not a word you said
Which straining ears might catch.

Instinct's recoil

At touch of spirit hand I missed,
But sometime on that night my lips were kissed,
In silent ecstasy you thought my name.
By pale green fans which our loved tree has spread,
By burning of the flowering quince's red,
By lilies new sprung from the garden soil,
Must I still reckon you among the dead?

The climax comes with the blank verse narrative called "In the Sapphire Crystal", the story of the many partings and meetings of the lovers in the past. The poem promises:

If we have met and loved so many times
and all eternity is there before,
we cannot fail to meet and love again.

"A Forest Idyll" is a delicate postlude that brings the sequence back once more to the mood in which it began—that of faith in nature—and lifts the reader to a faith in the harmonious relationships of all nature.

These poems are noteworthy for their delicacy and grace and no less noteworthy for their climactic effect. They must be read in sequence for their full flavor. Part of their charm lies in Mrs. Sheehan's symbolic method—particularly the flower imagery—which gives sensuousness in itself and in no small degree helps unify the sequence. Hyacinths and jonquils are for young love; white orchids for ecstasy; tea olive for marital security.

Mystic, too, are the poems of Lucille Key Thompson. Here, though, is the mysticism of one who draws her strength from pantheistic devotion to the soil and its wonders. Here is the sophisticated simplicity of an emotionally mature and serene person who chooses homely details to symbolize the theme established in the first lyric of the volume, "Spring Motif".

We should not mind if skies are gray,
The clouds will pass soon after;
When April's just a shower away
We should not mind if skies are gray!
If lilacs wait without dismay
The rain-drop's silver laughter—
We should not mind if skies are gray
The clouds will pass soon after.

Then she writes a sonnet to a cocoon, another to an old rail fence, and still another to a country grave yard, each symbolizing in its own way man's aspirations and his drive toward God.

All the poems of *Gracious Interlude* are not religious, although all carry the true poetic emphasis of high seriousness. The epigram,

"Perseverance", the mother's two letters to the President on the occasion of her two sons' entering the Army, the picture of the old basket weaver and the broom vender are typical of her varied subjects and her ability to lift the everyday into the universal and important.

An unusual quality of Mrs. Thompson's poetry lies in the extreme simplicity and naturalness of her phraseology combined with the intricacy of her verse structure. The words are Anglo-Saxon, the forms classic—the sonnet, the epigram, the triolet, and others. Strongly effective, too, is the trochaic tetraneter that gives a marching vim to her "Land of Filipinos" which leads to the forceful climax of faith in the God of freedom.

Thought, phraseology, and structure combine to make *Gracious Interlude* a volume that is remarkable for its lilting and haunting charm.

A poem that shows her skill as well, perhaps, as any is her "Rural Benediction", with its picture of a lonely old country grave yard.

A strange sweet peace descends upon my heart
When I behold a field, ploughed row by row
Around a hill whose peak is set apart
For simple wooden crosses. Oh, I know
A special invocation is instilled
On countryside, where ploughman's honored dust
Rejoins the lonely acres he has tilled.
The aging ploughshare is consumed with rust
The weathered frame-work falls apart; but there
On yonder hill the fathers of the soil
Repose in humble sepulchers, aware
Of perfect peace that comes through patient toil.

A lonely acre yields no bitter loss—
If, day by day, it lifts man to the Cross!

Night on the Terrace and *Gracious Interlude* are volumes for those who love beauty on the printed page. They are also volumes for those who look for hope and serenity in these troubled days.

Chief Justice Stone of Alabama by William H. Brantley. 1943. Birmingham Publishing Company. \$5.00.

There is interesting material in William Brantley's *Chief Justice Stone* for students of county history in many parts of Alabama. The volume throws interesting light on such varied topics as the battle of Mobile Bay, the burning of the University, Eufaula's patriotic delegation to Kansas, industry in Selma, and Masonic organizations in Jacksonville. These are but a few of the unusual and choice bits of Alabamiana that Mr. Brantley includes in his volume. He is reputed to have one of the finest of all private collections of Alabamiana; his references suggest that he has made extensive use of them as well as of public records and sources.

Chief Justice Stone, however, is not a history of Alabama counties. It is a biography of George W. Stone, one of Alabama's most famous jurists. It is to make his volume the solid, scholarly work that it is that Mr. Brantley has drawn upon many legislative reports and many county histories. A public figure, Stone's portrait is best suited to a background of public affairs.

A native of Tennessee, George Stone moved to the "county east of the Coosa" when he was twenty-three and young Alabama scarcely fifteen years in the Union. The days of his young manhood were the days of Creek Indians and Andrew Jackson and land troubles. As a member of the Bar Association of Talladega County, young Stone had little trouble in getting established. Land was King, black, fertile—new land that needed lawyers.

Throughout his life land and law were to be of almost equal importance to him: he came to Alabama as both lawyer and farmer. His first farm was near Talladega because Talladega was the legal center of the county. Later, on his two plantations in Lowndes County, he was to farm so shrewdly that he supported not only his family but contributed enormous stores to the Confederate Government.

Stone's entrance into politics was inevitable, according to Mr. Brantley. "During this age [1840's]," he writes, "politics was as popular as horse racing. It was a form of public recreation. . ." The thirty-two-year-old lawyer failed in his first political efforts—to be elected to the Circuit Court. But his political understanding and backing were so powerful that within six months of his defeat he was appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the popular Judge Eli Shortridge. From that time on Judge Stone was in the center of Alabama's politics: Secession, Confederate War, Reconstruction, Industrialization, Populism.

After his first election to the Supreme Court in 1856, he remained a member of that body (except for the Reconstruction years) for the rest of his life, which was also the rest of the century. He performed, according to Mr. Brantley, "labor beyond that of any justice who ever served the State." Judge Stone was outstandingly a lawyer's lawyer because of the number and importance of the opinions he handed down. It was Judge Stone who was the first to decide that a medical treatise is acceptable as evidence. In his last years it was still Judge Stone who was the first to advocate "a legal system" for the control of the rapidly spreading use of steam and electricity.

The man's warmth and humanity, though, made him a people's lawyer as well. They trusted him. It was Judge Stone, Mr. Brantley believes, who was "largely responsible" for solidifying the South in the crucial Presidential election of 1892 and bringing recalcitrants back from the Populist Party.

Mr. Brantley has wisely chosen to emphasize the public career of Judge Stone in his biography. A lawyer himself, his comments on laws, lawyers, and politics are a valuable contribution to Alabama's written history.

Nevertheless references to Stone's loves, sorrows, and foibles are by no means lacking. The private life of a man who found time to marry three times, play the violin, and write quantities of poetry defies obscurity, perhaps. In addition to attention to personality interpretation, Mr. Brantley charms the reader by skillfully injecting many personal anecdotes into his footnotes. No dull recording of title and page are these footnotes: they have a personality all their own and contribute greatly to the total portrait of the Chief Justice.

The following footnote is typical:

"Miss Gossely took Mrs. Charles Boldrick, of Lebanon, Kentucky (Stone's assistant secretary and the first woman to work in the Capitol)" writes that the Chief Justice administered the oath to her himself and then stated: 'Now Miss Georgia you will have to prove to the world that a woman can keep a secret.' Mrs. Boldrick also states that Judge Stone rubbed the soles of his feet with tallow in winter to protect him against colds. Also that he once failed to rise from his chair and bow when she entered his study. She remonstrated with him about this polite gesture, and his reply was: 'Do not deprive me of a great pleasure.'"

Colonel and Lady Philip Herbert Ffrench 1773-1774: A Plantation Diary of the Low Country. Edited with an Introduction by Hunter Harrison Ffrench. Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. 1943. 83 pp.

Philip Ffrench is the third volume to be published by Williamsburg Restoration Historical studies. Alabama's scholarly Dr. Hunter Ffrench has been General Editor for the Studies from the beginning. Prior to his association with Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated he was an author with a reputation in his own right. Since then he has preferred to give his energies to the various studies involved in reconstructing the colonial capital and in editing the series of books published by the unique corporation. Like the two earlier volumes *Philip Ffrench* contains a carefully edited text and a carefully chosen introduction.

Philip Ffrench himself was a young man who kept a diary for one year during Virginia's Golden Age at an estate near Dr. Carter's beloved Williamsburg.

At the age of twenty-three the young graduate of the College of New Jersey at Princeton left for Nomini Hall in Virginia to assume tutor for the eight children of Colonel and Mrs. Robert Carter. The compensation for the teaching, Colonel Carter had agreed, "to give thirty-five Pounds Sterling . . . Provide all Accommodations, allow him the undisturbed Use of a Room; And the Use of a good Library and Provender for a Horse & a Servant &c &c &c."

In the journal, the young divinity student draws a charming picture of himself and colonial Virginia. As a Presbyterian, he had hesitated to accept the position because he had heard "that it is difficult to avoid being corrupted with the manners of the people." But in a short time he got over not only his misgivings but his homesickness, prompted by the friendly advances of the Carter family and the other natives. His only blushes, he records, were not from contemplation of looseness and vice, but from his own inability to dance. One needed to dance, it seems, "to appear even decent in company."

Gradually Philip Fithian grew to love the whole easy rhythm of his life at the great estate: the abundance of food, the music, the discussions of books and plays, the house parties, the London-imported ball dresses of the women—his descriptions of particular gowns that caught his fancy grew to be delightfully discriminating and complete. Slavery distressed him, as was to be expected, and the occasional bad treatment of slaves. However he comments on the violence of the summer heat and the fact that sermons were only fifteen minutes long. So perhaps the slaves were not too badly treated.

Fithian's journals enlist one's sympathies almost as much as a novel. The reader comes to feel very close to him and very partisan so far as his interests are concerned. One wishes that young Philip had actually courted his "ever-dear Eliza" instead of just talking about it and stayed on in Arcady to complete his idyllic journal.

It was "Laura" he was faithful to, though, and back to New Jersey he went to marry her and to become ordained. It is with distress that one learns from Dr. Farish's "Introduction" that he died two years later as a chaplain in the Continental Army. It was of disease and exposure he died, not wounds, and the reader is a little startled until he recalls that Fithian frequently mentions the fact of ailing and usually refused to go up to the house for meals if it rained.

There is a charm and loveliness to Fithian's journals that give them merit in their own right. From historical point of view, they are, of course, valuable, for Fithian was a stranger and saw things that a native would long since have stopped seeing. Dr. Farish

has edited the diary with outstandingly excellent notes relative to history and genealogy.

In the introductory chapters Dr. Farish gives the background of the manuscript and its printings, and of Philip Fithian's family. He also gives considerable comment on life in Tidewater during the eighteenth century. Although "King" Carter's estate was by no means typical of Virginia estates in size (330,000 acres of land and 500 slaves), his household lived in a manner that was typical of Virginia during that period. "Taking the English gentry as their model," he writes, "they [Virginians] tried, insofar as colonial conditions would allow, to follow the ways of the country gentlemen of the homeland."

The account of the diversified social, economic, and cultural pursuits of these early capitalists constitutes an interesting chapter in Dr. Farish's volume.

POETRY

COUNTRY WAKE

By Bert Henderson

She threw another log upon the fire and placed
The chairs in ordered rows along the wall,
Quietly arranging them until they faced
The heavy coffin. Slowly down the hall
The neighbors came with slow reluctant tread,
To pay their last respects. She lit the lamp,
And brought a turn of kindling from the shed
To start the kitchen fire. The wood was damp,
For it had rained for seven nights and days,
To crumble terraces and turn the creek
Into a torrent. Now a feeble blaze
Crept up the draughty flue. She needs must seek
To do her simple chores—to brew a pot
Of coffee for the faithful who had come
To watch this final night, for death does not
Preclude the right of living. Through her numb
Disordered mind the shards of memory
Converged into a pattern of the past,
And while she walked among them quietly,
Oblivious to arrowed glances cast
On her adamant armour, she unwound
From memory's spool a tangled, sombre thread,
And shut her mind against the eerie sound
Of rain upon the shingles overhead.

EVALUATION

By Bert Henderson

When he was young he wrote of sterner things
Than laughter and the miracle of love.
He sought to drink at cabalistic springs
Deep-hidden from the heart. He sought to prove
The subtle paradox of soul and mind
By weighty dissertation, plied his pen
With erudite endeavor, sought to find
The latent springs that feed the lives of men.

Now years have passed. His facile pen portrays
No philosophic norm superbly wrought
Within a sonnet. Now he seeks to raise
No altar to the verity of thought,
But through the waning years attempts to trace
A crystal pool reflecting beauty's face.

I SHALL WALK THIS WAY WITH LOVELINESS

By Shirley Dillon Waite

I shall sandal my feet for the upper meadow
And wait for the sun with the quivering lark,
Threading my way through fields of anemones
That lie in the dewy grass, drinking the dark.

I shall follow the sun to the apple orchard
As swift as the wind where pippins fall.
They are hidden from sight in the purple clover,
Leaving the stripped bough nothing at all.

At noon I shall stand breast-deep in a wheat field
Swinging my scythe to the harvester's song.
I shall gather clean straws in the path of the reaper
And bind them in bundles golden and strong.

Worn I shall dream by a singing river,
Lifting cool water in my cupped hands.
Like the day at its close I am one with the currents,
One with the mutable sands.

CHANTEY FOR A GARDEN

By Shirley Dillon Waite

Hope and I together
On a somber day
Walked a ravished garden
Where we laid away
All the garden plunder — —
Tangled root and pod,
We turned away and left them
Underneath the sod.

Through the selfsame garden
Doubt and I retraced
Faltering steps along the path
Where winter had erased
Signs of summer's loveliness,
Stately stem and bloom — —
We left it tenantless and cold
As an empty room.

Faith and I were walking
With April in the rain,
Foraging for violets
And budding life again.
We found eternal joy of youth
And love that would not pass,
For memories had come to flower
Like fresas in the grass.

GENEALOGICAL INQUIRIES

Parentage and ancestry of Dorcas Littlefield, died 1863, married Col. William Carroll Lee, second wife, 1826. Mrs. John N. Pharr, New Iberia, La.

John William Elmore, born in S. C., came to Alabama, had a son, Franklin Marion Elmore, whose son, John William Elmore was the father of Lillie Mae Elmore (Mrs. Houston Meadows). Anything on this family gratefully received. Mrs. J. G. Gardner, 440 Belvedere, San Francisco, Cal.

Anything on Bearsheba Cain, of Wetumpka, and John Cain, brother of Elisha Milton and McDuff Cain. John Cain moved to Texas where all trace was lost. Mrs. A. L. Douglass, Arlington Farms, Louisiana Hall, Room C-118, Arlington, Va.

My grandfather, Alexander Cunningham, was the son of Iradell Cunningham (b. 9-7-1793; d. 10-9-1861) and Elizabeth Hollingsworth Cunningham (d. 1-1-1840). Alexander Cunningham (b. 9-10-1832) in Lamar County, Ala., died in Fulton County, Ark. (3-24-1900) married 4-1-1858 in Lamar County, Rebecca Ann Stewart, who died in Fulton County, Ark. Ancestors of Iradell Cunningham wanted. Mrs. T. H. Linn, 601 Rector Ave., Little Rock, Ark.

Information on the Blackwell family. Nicholas Blackwell was born in 1801. He was the son of John and Frances Blackwell. He married Sara Baldwin in Montgomery, Ala. October 22, 1822. Mrs. H. N. Mayes, 52 East Livingston, Orlando, Fla.

Benjamin Lynn or Linn, Separate Baptist Preacher, who moved to Madison County, Ala., in 1810 and died in 1814. Any information gratefully received. George William Beattie, Highland, Cal.

Elizabeth Morrow married Daniel Wilcoxson. She was born in 1829. Who were her parents. Mrs. Laura Pierce Kendall, Oklahoma City Chapter, D.A.R., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Robert Lalson McClain, born in Birmingham, Dec. 14, 1840, married Amanda Elizabeth Westbrook, of Damascus, Ga. Who were his parents. Mrs. Sue Moss, 722 S. Evans, San Diego 2, Cal.

Andrew Sheffer died in Illinois in 1859 leaving seven children. Some of these children were born in Alabama. Information on this family wanted. The Sheffer family, Box 295, Staunton, Va.

William Tait or Tate married Elishaha. Any information on this family appreciated. Mrs. John C. Scogland, 704 Mapleton Ave., Boulder, Colo.

Any information of the Wetherington or Witherington family of Conecuh county. Mrs. Lela Fletcher Kidwell, 1822 West Noble, Guthrie, Okla.

ROOSEVELT AND THE SOUTH

"Despite his mistakes," we said editorially on April 7, "Mr. Roosevelt has done much for the South." An esteemed correspondent asks us in today's *Voice of the People* what basis there is for this assertion. We are only too happy to answer that Mr. Roosevelt has furthered the interests of the South in the following ways:

(1) By having a study made of the South's economic position in 1938, the President was responsible for the clearest showing yet made that the South is almost a colonial appendage of the North, with most of its major industries owned outside the region, and draining money off to those regions. Many Southerners were unaware of this.

(2) By helping to secure for the cotton and tobacco farmers of the South prices which are among the best they have ever enjoyed. The only important group of Southern farmers we know of who are not preponderantly in favor of the Roosevelt war administration are the sugar cane growers of Florida and Louisiana.

(3) By providing loans for the purchase of farms by deserving tenants, and loans for the rehabilitation of many thousands of other tenants, which loans have been repaid in the vast majority of cases. Food production for the war has thus been greatly increased.

(4) By creating the Tennessee Valley Authority, which even the ultra-conservative *Memphis Commercial-Appeal* ("anti" practically everything else Washington has done) calls the greatest asset the South possesses. It traverses parts of seven Southern States, has done a vast deal to raise levels of living throughout the whole area, has greatly stimulated private business there (see *Business Week*, May 25, 1940), and has been absolutely indispensable in producing power for the manufacture of munitions in this war.

(5) By setting up the Rural Electrification Administration, which has been another boon to the rural South, since it has provided many country districts with electric power for the first time.

Private companies frequently did not feel that it was worth their while to enter these areas, since the expense was considerable and the profit small. The lines were built by the Federal government, but the current often is supplied by the private companies. Hundreds of thousands of Southern farms have been electrified in this manner.

(6) By securing the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act, under which the minimum wage in the manufacture of goods moving in interstate commerce was fixed at 25 cents an hour in 1938. It was raised to 30 cents in 1939, and will go to 40 cents in 1945. This has lifted the purchasing power of the Southern masses to a marked degree, probably the greatest single need of the South. It also has greatly reduced child labor. As recently as 1935, the per capita income of the South was exactly half that of the rest of the country, and chiseling little industries were flooding down into this region, paying as little as \$4 a week. This has been stopped.

(7) By appointing to the Interstate Commerce Commission no fewer than five Southerners, and thereby greatly improving this region's chance of getting equitable freight rate adjustments. The present chairman of the ICC, J. Haden Alldredge, of Alabama, was named by Mr. Roosevelt after Alldredge had openly espoused the cause of freight-rate revision.

(8) By backing Secretary of State Hull in his reciprocal trade pact program, thereby helping to reverse the trend of long standing, whereby tariffs kept going higher and higher. For generations the South had to buy in a protected market and to sell in an unprotected foreign market. The Hull pacts were rendered largely ineffective by the war, but they are directly in line with the South's needs for the postwar era, and they must be strengthened.

This is only a partial list, but it would seem to justify the statement that although Mr. Roosevelt has made mistakes, he has "done much for the South." We have omitted all mention of various programs which the administration has carried out on a national scale, and from which the South has perhaps reaped no greater benefit than the rest of the country, such as the Social Security program, the slum clearance program; the WPA and the PWA (the latter having provided such invaluable additions as the new Virginia State Library and Medical College of Virginia, to-

gether with great new libraries at the University of Virginia and V. M. I.); the universally praised CCC camps; the HOLC, and its highly important saving of thousands of home owners from mortgage foreclosures; the Securities Exchange Commission, with its vigilance over the stock exchange and the protection it affords the public against swindlers; the Federal Bank Deposit law, which insures bank deposits and so on.

If the foregoing is not a constructive record of service to the American people, and particularly to the South, for all the errors of omission and commission made in its execution, we confess that we do not know the meaning of the English language.—Richmond Times-Dispatch.



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